

GEOGRAPHICAL AND ECONOMIC
STUDIES IN THE
MAHĀBHĀRATA: UPĀYANA PARVA

BY

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PREFACE

In the early days of my return from abroad I was singularly fortunate to come in direct contact of the ennobling and inspiring personality of the late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal. In his inspiring talks to us he always made it a point to enthuse us about ancient Indian geography without a knowledge of which Indian history in his opinion looked like an open-air drama in which members of the audience are required to do their own guessing about the scenic arrangements. I listened to him with rapt attention, but with my limited knowledge of Indian history and literature I could do little to solve the tangles of Indian historical geography. But there were others who took the cue, and among them foremost stands the name of Prof. Jaya Chandra Vidyalankar. His researches are embodied in an interesting book in Hindi entitled *Bhārat bhūmi aur uske Nivāsi* (India and her peoples), in which he has focussed brilliantly the problems of Indian historical geography. It will not be an exaggeration to say that we have yet to see a book of this type in other Indian languages or as a matter of fact even in European languages. But I stayed where I was, my attention being riveted to problems of art and archaeology, and my professional duties as the curator of a museum left me little time to devote to other subjects.

It was therefore a pleasant surprise when my friend Dr. Vasudeva Sharana Agrawala asked me to write an article on the chapters 47 and 48 of the Sabhā-parva which describe in detail the representatives of the tribes and republics who attended the Rājasūya ceremony of Yudhiṣṭhira and brought with them various products of their countries as gifts to the great king. I had misgivings about my ability to cope with such a difficult, although fascinating, subject. But I remembered Dr. Jayaswal's inspiring words and not minding my limitations enthu-

siastically took up the work. The deeper I went the greater my fascination grew, and a mere article I proposed to write for Dr. Radha Kumud Presentation Volume swelled into a small book which is before my readers.

I purposely chose for my thesis the title of Upāyana-parva, although this name does not occur in any of the lists of the sub-parvans of the Mahābhārata. The subject-matter of the chapters 47-48 of the Sabhā-parva deals with the presents brought by various peoples, and I think the title Upāyana-parva appropriately expresses the idea of such gifts. For this liberty I crave the indulgence of scholars.

A word about the geographical information in the Mahābhārata should not be out of place here. Before tackling the problems of epic geography utmost caution is necessary to be observed to avoid pitfalls and to gain a straight path in the bewildering forest of names about which we know so little. Mutilated readings found at every step lead us astray, and force us to seek names in the directions in which as the correct readings show they do not exist. Then there are contradictions and repetitions which by the nature of various strata in epic text are inevitable. In these circumstances every piece of evidence has to be weighed carefully before reaching any conclusion. External evidences from Buddhist and Jain sources are also sometimes of utmost value. I must here express my admiration for the critical edition of the Mahābhārata in which invariably, except in a very few cases, the choice of the readings by the editor has been correct.

I, however, cannot claim that my identifications have always been correct. My modest claim, however, is that I have tried to probe into a difficult subject with my limited knowledge and I am certainly open to corrections which would be welcome. This is just a beginning; the subject of epic geography is far from exhausted. There yet awaits the geography of the Digvijaya-parva and the tangled mass of geographical information in the opening chapters of the

Bhīṣma-parvan with hopelessly corrupt text. If everything goes on well I propose to go further into the subject.

The critical study of the Upāyana-parva text, however, would have remained an empty dream if the editors of the critical edition of the Mahābhārata had not allowed me to consult the text of chapters 47 and 48, while the second part of the Sabhā-parvan was still in the Press and which, so far I am aware, has not yet been issued to the subscribers.* I am very grateful for all the assistance given to me in this connection by Dr. R. N. Dandekar. The authorities of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, also gave me an opportunity to express my views about the geography of the Upāyana-parva in a lecture at one of their annual functions. All this encouragement shows how greatly the cooperative spirit has grown among Indian scholars.

In conclusion, I may point out that in spite of my vigilance minor inaccuracies in proof correction have remained in printing; for this I crave the indulgence of the scholars. I also offer my sincerest thanks to Dr. Vasudeva Sharana Agrawala and my young artist friend Ram Subhedar without whose cooperation I could not have successfully accomplished my task.

Moti Chandra

* This is now published (26-10-1945).—Moti Chandra.

FOREWORD

The geographical material relating to ancient India is extremely vast and varied. Its principal sources are the following:—

- (1) Vedic literature,
- (2) Epic literature, viz., Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata,
- (3) Buddhist and Jaina sacred texts,
- (4) Grammatical literature,
- (5) Foreign writers (Classical and Chinese),
- (6) Purāṇas,
- (7) Early and mediaeval inscriptions and
- (8) Classical Sanskrit & Prakrit literature.

This material requires to be studied systematically with the same scientific outlook and precision as have been applied to other kinds of historical material. Geography has been the bed-rock of history in a very real sense and an understanding of the geographical background supplies the clue to the historical expansion of the Indian people and their inter-relations with other races in each period. The investigation of geographical problems in respect of almost all the major sources outlined above is still a gap in our historical studies. It is therefore essential that this line of study be developed in the same intensive manner as other branches of ancient Indian history have been.

Geographical studies apart from their vital relationship to a true estimate of the historical evolution, are of distinct value for chronological considerations also. Geographical references like so many of the social, political and economic institutions are likely to be of great value in deciding questions of relative chronology. The critical apparatus from this source has yet to be formulated. For example, a minute study of the application of the name

Mālava to different regions in the Panjab, Rajputana and ultimately to present Malawa in Central India from epigraphic and literary sources would reveal the course and the time of migration of the Mālava tribe and be helpful in checking the time of the works in which *Mālaca* is applied to present Malwa. Besides, a critical estimate of the different geographical concepts of the ancient Indians, e.g. the determining of the exact significance of the term Bhārata, Airāvata and other Varshas with their Janapada divisions and river names is sure to prove a study of the utmost value. The time now seems to be ripe for laying the foundations of a full and comprehensive expository scheme of the science of ancient Indian geography supported by numerous detailed maps of various descriptions.

The geographical material from the Mahābhārata is of more than ordinary importance for providing a critical and archaic standard of reference, in respect of place-names in the successive stages of Indian history. This material consists mainly of (1) the Bhuvanakosha chapters (Bhīshma-parva, ch. 9), Digvijaya parvans (Sabhā-parva, chs. 25-32), the so-called Upāyanaparva (Sabhā-parva, chs. 47-48 of the critical edition) and the Tirthayatra parva (Āranyaka-parva, chs. 80-153 of the critical edition). It is important that this material should be critically examined in the light of comparative sources. Important results must follow such research. For example, Prof. Shejwalkar while subjecting the material of the Tirthayātrā-parva to critical analysis has shown not only that the material of the Dhaumya set of narration of holy places (chs. 85-88, containing only 92 verses) is considerably earlier than the Pulastya-Tirthayātrā material (chs. 80-83, containing 598 verses), but also arrived at certain broad deductions, viz. that the Aryans had before going to the east, crossed over into the Deccan, that the southern land route lay along the east coast and through the centre of the Peninsula, that the sand tracts of Rajputana were early colonised and that a great Trans-

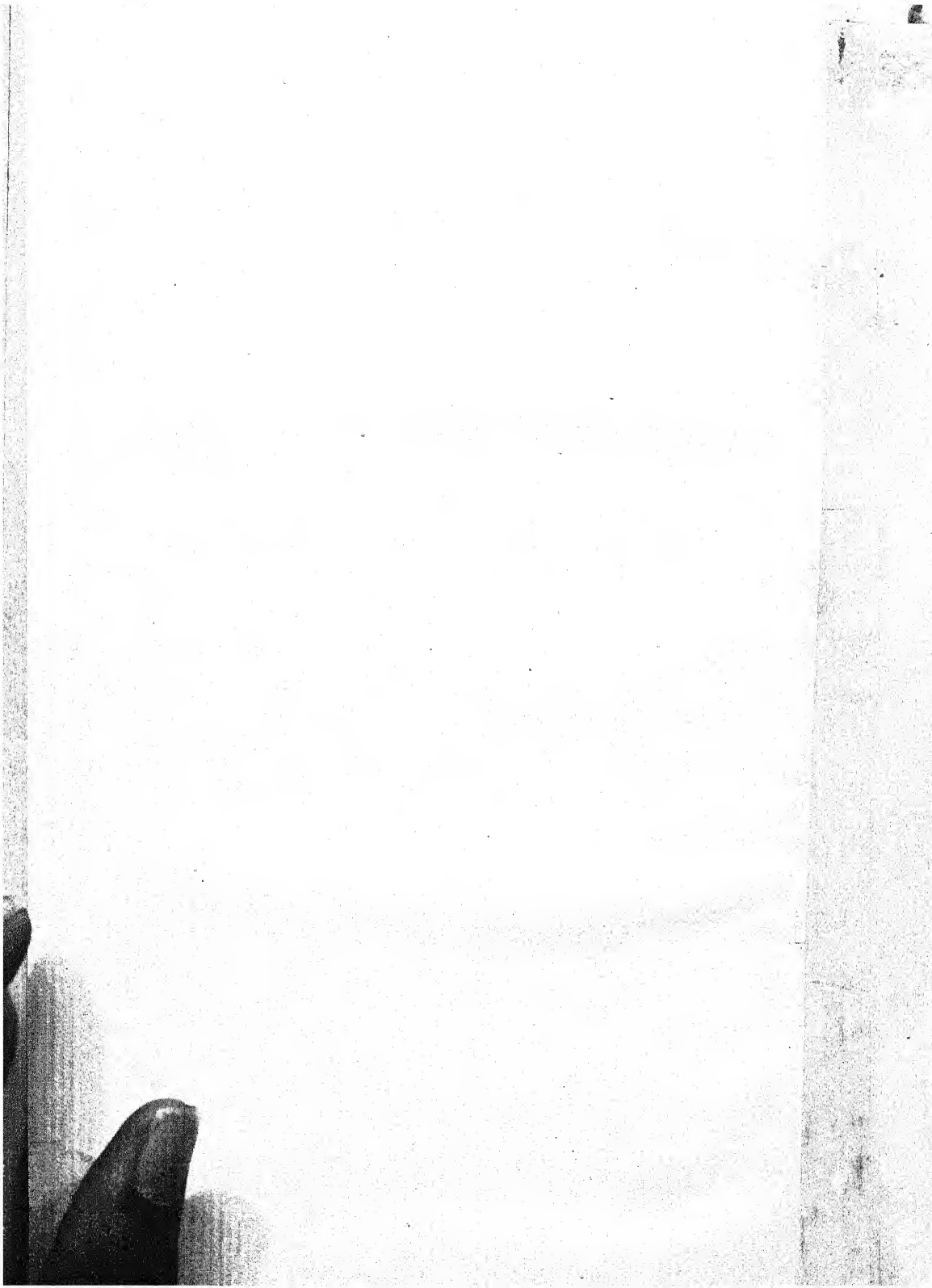
Himalayan route was in constant use from these early times.*

The material from the Digvijaya-parva was partially examined by Prof. Jayachandra in the course of his Hindi article भारतीय अट्टशीलन, G. H. Ojha Comm. Vol., (नकुल का पश्चिम—दिग्विजय pp.3—9.)

The Bhuvanakosha chapter in the Mahābhārata seems to represent an archaic textual tradition as its material is also found incorporated in several of the Purāṇas, viz., Vāyu, Matsya and Mārkaṇḍeya. Some valuable work on it had been done by Dr. Pargiter in his edition of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa and by Dr. B.C. Law in his *Geographical Essays*, but there is yet scope for much intensive work and the need for producing a collated critical text of the Bhuvanakosha chapters on the basis of as many good manuscripts of the Purāṇas and the Mahabharata (Bhīṣma-parva) as available, similar to the text of the Parvasangraha-parva prepared by Dr. Sukthankar, is very great. It is expected that the critical edition of the Bhīṣmaparva now under preparation by Dr. S. K. Belvalkar will clarify and settle the readings of a good many names of the Janapadas and rivers in this chapter. Indeed, the presentation of the entire geographical material from the Mahābhārata in the form of a single dissertation would be very handy and useful to advance the cause of historical research in this direction.

I had suggested to my friend Dr. Moti Chandra the material of the Upāyana-parva for a paper to be published in the Radha Kumud Mookerji Presentation Volume. He took up the subject with his characteristic zeal and thoroughness. Fortunately the critical text of the chapters relating to the Upāyana-parva were made available to Dr. Moti Chandra through the courtesy of the editor of the critical edition of the Mahābhārata being published from the Bhandarkar Institute, Poona. After several months

* The Mahabharata Data for Aryan Expansion in India by T. S. Shejwalkar, Bull. Deccan College Research Institute, Vol. V, pp. 201—219.



INTRODUCTORY

I

The *Mahābhārata* is rightfully regarded by the Hindus as the encyclopaedia of ancient lores. It contains the precepts of the great ṛṣis ordaining the rightful conduct and the deeds of the mighty heroes whose names are still cherished by the Hindus. The *Mahābhārata* was not composed with a view to give in any detail the social aspects of Hindu life, neither it was written to give us the geographical knowledge of the Hindus, and therefore whatever geographical knowledge we are able to glean from the *Mahābhārata*, specially from the *Ādiparva*, *Sabhāparva*, *Aranyaparva* and *Bhīṣmaparva* are incidental and not a connected whole. The names of the countries, mountains, rivers, etc., are mentioned in passing without any topographical details, very often even neglecting the direction in which a country or a mountain or a river lay, assuming their knowledge by the contemporary Indians as a matter of course. This attitude towards the geography of the country has created serious difficulties for the students of the historical geography of India and the information supplied by the *Mahābhārata* has to be supplemented with the Grecians, Chinese, and often by the medieval Arab sources which unfortunately lose much of their utility (Chapters 26—27, 47—48), and in this con-

in the modern topographical researches concerning India such as Masson, Burnes, Wood, St.-Martin, Cunningham, Holdich and Stein have done much to increase our knowledge of ancient Indian geography but much remains to be done. The archaeology and its sister sciences have also given their helping hand in the solution of certain knotty problems concerning the location of ancient tribal republics, specially in the Panjāb. Unfortunately the texts of *Purāṇas* which should have served as a base for our knowledge of ancient Indian geography are so thoroughly corrupted that any attempt to identify the majority of place names in the Purāṇic list is bound to meet with failure. Their utility is further lessened by their adherence to the stereotyped description of the Indian geography bodily lifted from some common original source and just fitted in the shape of *Bhuvana-Kośas* in different *Purāṇas*. The Pāli Buddhist sources are somewhat better in their knowledge of Indian geography, but as the field of activity of early Buddhism was confined to Bihār and Eastern U.P., their knowledge of North-Western India is often hazy. This defect was later on greatly remedied when Buddhism penetrated from Gandhāra to Afghānistān, Central Asia and China. The literature of Sanskrit Buddhism and the Chinese Tripiṭaka have preserved for us some place names from the North-west India and the Panjāb, but these sources also suffer from obscurity which characterises the Purāṇic sources. Such being the condition of the sources of historical geography of India at our disposal the task of a research student is unenviable. He has to conform to the strictly scientific methods of modern researches with a limited material at hand. Philology, a hand-maid of all Indian studies, tries to over-reach herself in the matter of geographical studies. The phonetic similarities of the place names are so great that one is at once tempted to identify a certain modern place name with its ancient name and then with the help of the works of Lassen,

St.-Martin and Cunningham suffer from this defect. Philology is a good guide and at times a very successful one, but its results in the sphere of topographical researches must be checked by other sources.

In this article I have confined myself to the geographical allusions of the *Sabhāparva*, and that too with the identifications of the names of various tribal republics and monarchies which appeared at the time of the *Rājasūya* sacrifice to pay tribute to *Yudhiṣṭhira*. The importance of the *Upāyanaparva* as it is a sub-section of the *Sabhāparva* is further increased by the mention of the products of the individual countries whose representatives came to pay their tributes to the all-conquering Pāṇḍava brothers. After the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya the *Upāyanaparva* is only somewhat fuller source of information of the economic resources of India as she was then comprehended. Fortunately in the course of my studies I had the opportunity of consulting the critical edition of the *Sabhāparva* published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, while it was still at the press, through the courtesy of Dr. P. M. Joshi and Dr. R. N. Dandekar to whom my thanks are due. It must be said that this critical edition of the *Sabhāparva* has greatly improved upon the previous texts, and at several places restituted the correct ancient forms. At places, however, I have differed from the readings suggested by the learned editors, and I have adopted the variants suggested in the footnotes. In doing so I have, to the best of my ability, given reasons for adopting the variant readings. As far as possible I have given cross references in the *Mahābhārata* from the critically edited Parvas which have appeared (*Ādi*-, *Sabhā*-, *Aranya*-, *Virāt*- and *Udyoga-parvas*). but occasionally I have also referred to the 1836 Calcutta edition of the *Mahābhārata*.

While making an intensive study of those parts of the *Sabhāparva* which deal exclusively with the geographical matters such as *Digvijayaparva* (Chapters 23—29) and the *Upāyanaparva* (Chapters 47—48), and in this con-

nection the *Aranyaparva*, certain impressions have here left on my mind which I lay down for the consideration of the scholars. Throughout the *Mahābhārata* there is always apparent a sort of derisive attitude wherever a Panjāb or specially a North-Western tribal republic is concerned, and one often meets in season and out of season, the terms, *mleccha*, *yavana*, *barbara* and *dasyu* applied to them in order to remind the faithful of the middle country to be beware of the Panjābīs and the north-westerners lest they might be taken unwares and their so-called Aryan way of life and thought be disturbed by their malpractices.

In one breath the *mleccha* kings including Āndhras, Śakas, Pulindas, Yavanas, Aurnikas, Kambojas, Śūdras and Ābhīras¹ are dubbed as false rulers (*mithyānuśāsinaḥ*), sinners (*pāpāḥ*) and liars (*mṛṣāvādaparāyaṇāḥ*). This hatred towards the Panjāb and north-western tribes is reflected in the contemptuous way in which their land is described as the land of donkeys and camels, and even if we do not believe in the theory of M. Lévi that Kharoṣṭra denoted a geographical boundary² there is little doubt that the word Kharoṣṭra as evident from the Chinese interpretation of the word by Houe Yuan is contemptuous. M. Lévi to prove his point says that in diverse texts the ass and camel are connected. He quotes examples from Fan Yu tsa Ming of Yitsing. He also quotes from the Gaṇāpāṭha of Pāṇini³ to show that in the neuter *dvandvas* the compound *uṣṭra-kharam* is found⁴ perhaps expressive of some geographical connection. It is quite reasonable to suppose that Kharoṣṭra became a sort of symbol which denoted a country where these animals were to be found in large numbers. The south-eastern limit of the distribution of the camels is an imaginary line drawn from the mouth of the Indus towards the upper Satlaj and

¹ *Aranyaparva*, 186. 29-30.

² BEFEO, IV, 566.

³ II, 4, 11.

⁴ BEFEO, IV, p. 567.

for the donkeys the line of demarcation nearly passes from the north to the south leaving the eastern India altogether. The true country of the asses (*Equus hemippus*, *Equus Onager*, *Equus hemonus*) is Syria, Gobi desert and Baluchistān and western India. The donkey and camel are the animals of Iranian world. According to Spiegel⁵ the camel in Iran is only a little less important than horse and the two-humped Bactrian camel which carries heavy load and is able to live on very little. The ass whose two species are found in Iran is also an important animal. Avesta gives great importance to camel.⁶

The derogatory sense in which the land of the Khara and Uṣṭra was used is amply illustrated in the *Karna-parva* when Karna deeply incensed at the disgraceful behaviour of Śalya burst out in rage. His scathing indictment of the people of the Panjāb specially the Madra country reflects in true sense the Brāhmaṇical point of view about the land of the five rivers. It would not be out of place here to quote from Karna's speech certain relevant portions which in their ringing condemnation are unequalled in India literature. "The Madraka is treacherous to his friends. Those whom we hate is Madraka. There is no attachment in Madraka. His language is uncouth." (M.B. VIII, 40, 20). "Their womenfolk under the influence of drink throw away their garments and begin to dance; they indulge in sexual intercourse without reserve and follow their fanciful designs to an extreme. The Madrakas in the legal terminology are the sons or those women who piss like camels and asses." A couple of hundred verses later (M.B., VIII, 44, 3) Karna continuing with his invectives quotes the opinion of a Brāhmaṇa which he had heard in the court of Dhṛtarāṣṭra about Vāhīkas and Madras. "I have lived for a secret reason with the Vāhīkas and I know of their practices, having lived with them. Their women dance and sing all

⁵ *Iranische Alterthumskunde*, I, p. 260.

⁶ *Vendidad*, VII IX, 37.

naked in the open places of houses and cities casting away garlands and paints, singing lewd songs in drunkenness which resemble braying of ass and grumbling of a camel. They do not observe privacy while cohabiting and follow the whims of their fancy. One of these miserable Vāhikas who lived in the Kurujāṅgala unable to have good time used to sing, " 'The tall fair women wearing fine clothes of linen who followed me in the bed, the poor Vahika of the Kurujāṅgala. When it will be when I shall cross over the Śatadru and Irāvātī on my way to my country to meet the beautiful girls of the olden times. When will I return with the beat of tambourine and drum and the conch-shell blowing with the asses, camels and mules (*Kharoṣṭrāśvataraiḥ*) in the forest of *śamī*, *pīlu* and *karīra* whose fragrance is so pleasing'." Another song of the Vāhikas, which the Brāhmaṇa reported is as follows, " 'When shall I be able to sing in Śākalā the song of the Vāhikas, devour the beef, drink the Gauḍa wine, and the mutton with bunches of onions, the flesh of wild boar, fowls, keef and the ass and the camel and enjoy the tall elegant women in perfect toilet (VIII, 2051). These Vāhikas about whom we have been hearing some of the most unpalatable things lived as Mahābhārata defines (VIII, 2029-30, 2041, 2055, 2064), " 'Apart from the Himālayas and Gaṅgā, Yamunā and Sarasvatī and Kurukṣetra, established in the centre of the five rivers with the Indus as the sixth live the Vāhikas, unaware of the practices of the *Smṛtis*.'"

Now a pertinent question which may be asked in this connection is as to what were the reasons which actuated the Brāhmaṇas of the middle country to indulge in the whole-sale condemnation of the people of the Panjāb, the North-west Frontier, and the lands beyond? It is a well known fact which requires no repetition that the Vedic culture was nurtured in the Panjāb, and the very foundations

¹ *Atharva Veda*, XII, 1.

of the later Brāhmanic culture were laid in the land of the Five Rivers. In the Vedic period the land whose glory is sung in the *prthyīsūkta*⁷ certainly included the Panjāb and the Himālayas. Even contrary to the expectation, in the *Bhīṣmaparva*, Chap. IX, in the impressive lists of the Cakravartis is included Śibi Auśīnara from the Panjāb, then why this hostility towards Panjāb? History supplies us the reasons. The culture which the Panjāb fostered had gradually shifted towards the Madhyadeśa, till Gange-tic plains and a part of Rajputānā became a sort of haven of the ancient doctrines and Aryan philosophy, and this heritage the people under the guidance of the Brāhmanas wanted to preserve intact from the outside influences, the fresh beliefs, and the fresh modes of life brought over by the many races which had migrated to India since the Vedic religion had crystallised itself. This abhorrence of foreigners and the aboriginals whose beliefs were antagonistic to the Brāhmanical thoughts became a sort of mania. An example may be cited. The cause of the Sarasvatī's disappearance is attributed to the horror in which Sarasvatī held the Niṣādas; she disappeared at the very gate of the Niṣāda kingdom (M.B. III, 130, 3-4). Nothing could be more unreasonable or absurd, but herein we see the creation of legends worked up by the clever ingenuity of the priestly mind to serve a particular end that is to save the flock from the contaminating influence of the barbarians. Even in the description of the *tīrthas* in the *Āraṇyaparva* our attention is again and again diverted to the sacred Kurukṣetra, Gaṅgādvāra, and other pretty *tīrthas* in Kāthiwar and all over the Madhyadeśa to prove that all the sanctity which a Brāhmaṇa could conceive was attached to the middle country. The story of the gradual development of this psychology might form an interesting study in itself. This process of drawing within oneself is fully developed in the *Mahābhārata*, the *Purāṇas*, and the *Smṛtis*. To this psychological working of the mind

generating hate in place of love, may be attributed the division of the country into innumerable small states—the new-comers forming their own tribal states, and thus dividing the country in almost innumerable smaller units. This instinct of self preservation was still aggravated with the advent of Buddhism and to a lesser to Jainism. A direct challenge was thrown to the almost uncontested supremacy of the Brāhmins. The dharma of the Buddha simple in its conception and direct in its appeal spread quickly to the Panjāb and the frontier and in the early centuries of the Christian era spread to the Central Asia. The Buddhist church was not bound by the Brahmanical principles of castes, etc. Whosoever came to the Buddha, irrespective of caste, creed, community or race, was allowed to join the Buddhist brotherhood. To escape from this peril the Brahmanic hierarchy created stricter laws to ensure the purity of the society but mere laws without public sanction behind them are just like the body without the spirit. The invectives of the Brāhmaṇas against the spirited Panjābis do not seem to have been of much avail.

Another subject which should interest the student of Indian geography is a plethora of *digvijayas* found in the *Mahābhārata*. Among these the four most important ones are the expeditions of Arjuna to the north, of Bhīma to the east, of Sahadeva to the south and of Nakula to the west described in the *Digvijayaparva*, a sub-section of *Sabhāparva*. There are certain broad points in connection of these expeditions with which we must acquaint ourselves. The first thing which we should bear in mind is that these expeditions from the geographical point of view are of great importance. They not only tell us of the place names which are often of first rate importance, but their directions also throw light on the ancient Indian highways. Secondly, these expeditions echo the expeditions of the contemporary kings whether Yavana, Śaka or Hindu whose doings have been cleverly transferred to the

Pāṇḍava brothers. The itineraries allocated to each of the Pāṇḍavas seems to have been made up by a clever stringing of more than one itinerary. This is more palpable in the conquests of Arjuna and Sahadeva. As we shall see while discussing the date of the *Sabhāparva* these expeditions supply us with the informations of utmost importance, and when they are read in the light of the modern researches on Indian history they tell us much about the date of the *Sabhāparva*. Lastly these expeditions need not represent that such long expeditions were taken by the Indian kings at a time; there is an element of wishful thinking in these expeditions to exhibit the prowess of the champions of the Brahminical cause. This story of the *Digvijayas* was supplemented copiously by the contemporary events which have been connected with the exploits of those heroes.

Much more interesting is a long list of tribal republics mostly from the Panjāb, North-Western Frontier, Eastern Afghānistān and the countries on the Oxus and even beyond it. The references to these geographical names are very interesting. They are not a collected whole with any idea of putting the names of the republics in proper geographical order which might indicate their situation and direction. Sometime the direction is pointed out but in the majority of cases it is entirely left out. As usual the geographical names seem to have been drawn from the various contemporary lists and itineraries. Fortunately some of these disjointed lists have maintained some order in which the countries were situated and also their connection with the neighbouring states is often slightly indicated; this is all very helpful in the proper identification of the places. The various presents brought by the representatives from each country also give an indication as to which part of the world their land could be assigned. We need not dilate here on this point here as we will have ample opportunity to discuss it later on.

One very important point which requires our attention before we take up the geographical allusions in the *Sabhāparva* is that the boundary of India at that period was not as it is to-day. The whole of eastern Afghānistān was included in India, and the geographical knowledge of the Hindus extended to Oxus and sometimes the trans-Oxus countries. If we only keep this point in view much of the confusion which is bound to occur if we try to identify all the places within the modern boundaries of India as it is constituted to-day would be avoided. Indian culture at least in the second century B.C. had travelled beyond the limits of India, and during the course of its extension met in Afghānistān and the Oxus countries two other cultures Greek and Iranian whose natural actions and reaction gave birth to a new colonial culture in which the Indian and Greek elements preponderate.

II

The date of the *Mahābhārata* remains still a matter of contention; Dahlmann's theory^s placed the *Mahābhārata* in the fifth or sixth century before Christ. His contention that it was the work of a single man has long been given up. The *Mahābhārata* is not the work of a single hand and as pointed out by Professor Hopkins the crystallisation of its present form may be put between the 4th century B.C. and 4th century A.D., though the latter limit seems to be too late. We are not concerned in our present study with the external and internal evidences which have been impressively marshalled to prove the date of the *Mahābhārata* or more correctly a particular part of the *Mahābhārata*;

^s *Das Mahabharata also Epos und Rechtsbuch*, (1895) and *Genesis des Mahabharata* (1899).

⁹ The Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, p. 258.

neither we are concerned here with the revival of Brahminism apparent from the *Mahābhārata* with its insistence on the worship of Viṣṇu. The only purpose of this section is to show by the internal evidences from the *Sabhāparva* or to narrow it down still from the *Digvijaya* and the *Upāyana-parvas* which give a mass of geographical informations useful to determine the probable date of the composition of the *Sabhāparva*. Every piece of evidence will be taken up separately and discussed on its own merits, and then we shall try to reach a certain conclusion. The chronology has always been rather a controversial point in Indian history before the pre-Christian era and no theory or conclusion has escaped criticism. Whatever views I propose to place before the scholars are certainly far from dogmatic and I would certainly welcome corrections and criticisms.

The most important evidence which throws a considerable light on the date of the *Sabhāparva* comes from Arjuna's expedition (MB, II, 23-25). His campaign as we shall see later on could be divided into two parts or may be three parts. We are only concerned here with that section where Arjuna having conquered the Daradas with the Kāmbojas (II, 24.22) proceeded towards the north and having conquered the robber tribes, subdued the Lohas, Parama-Kāmbojas, the Ṛṣikas and Paramṛṣikas. I give the full text below noting the variant readings where necessary

गृहीत्वा तु बलं सारं फल्गुचोत्सृज्य पाण्डवः
 दरदान्सह काम्बोजैरजयत्पाकशासनिः 22
 प्रागुत्तरां दिशं ये च वसन्त्याश्रित्य दस्यवः
 निवसन्ति वने ये च तान्सर्वानजयत्प्रभुः 23
 लोहान्परमकाम्बोजान्पृथिवीकानुत्तरानपि
 सहितां स्तान्महाराज व्यजयत्पाकशासनिः 24

The variants for परमकाम्बोजान् are:—लोकान्, मौकान् होलान्, लहान्परमकांभोजान्, पण्ड्यान्यपरमकम्बोजान्, लंबकान्यपरमकांभोजान् etc. The variants for ऋषि are इषि or इषी ।

ऋषिकेषु तु संग्रामो बभूवातिभयंकरः
 तारकामयसंकाशः परमर्षिक पार्थयोः 25
 शुक्रोदरसमपुख्यान्हयानद्यौ समानयत्
 मयूरसदृशानन्यानुभयानेवचापरान् 26
 स विनिर्जित्य संग्रामे हिमवन्तं सनिष्क्रुटम्
 श्वेत पर्वतमासाद्यन्यवसत्पुरुषर्षभः 27

In these verses we get some very important information about the situation of the Rṣikas and Paramarṣikas. To locate them properly we should try to follow the route taken by Arjuna. After having conquered the Bāhlikas (M.B. II, 23, 21) or the Bactrians in Northern Afghānistān, he subdued the combined Darada and Kamboja forces (M.B., II, 23, 22). The crux of the problem is the proper identification of Kamboja to which we shall come later on. It is not the Chhibhal country or Kabul but as proposed by Pandit Jayachandra Vidyālamkāra Badakshān and the Galcha speaking part of the Parmirs. Now what route Arjuna took from the Bāhlika country? The key to this problem lies in the proper identification of Valgu. This may be identified with the river Baghlan. In their explorations of the Oxus countries Wood and Lord investigated the route which lay directly south from Kunduz by the river of that name to its junction with the Baghlan. Thence following Baghlan to its head they crossed by the Murgh Pass into the Valley of the Andarab and diverging eastward they adopted the Khawak Pass to reach the Panjishir Valley and so to Kabul. No great difficulties were encountered on the route, involving only two passes between the Oxus and the Kabul, the Murgh (7,400 ft.) and Khawak (11,650 ft.) and it undoubtedly possesses many advantages as the modern popular route between Kabul and Badakshān.¹⁰ Arjuna probably followed this route on his return journey to the Śvetaparvata which may be identified with the Safīd-koh whose rugged ilex-covered spurs centre on the

¹⁰ Holdich, *The Gates of India*, pp. 434-35.

giant peaks of Pirghal and Shuidar, overlooking the plains of Afghānistān towards Ghaznī.¹¹ Arjuna however in his march towards the Paramakāmbojas and the Rṣikas left the Baghlan route which might have led him to Kabul and proceeded towards the north, and in the ensuing battle defeated the Kāmbojas and the Daradas, who probably came to help their allies through the Dora Pass, which is the chief pass over the Hindukush, directly connecting India (through Chitral) with Badakshān.¹² The next stage in his campaign took him to the north-eastern direction (*prāguttarām diśam*) (M.B., II, 24, 23) where the robber tribes (*dasyavaḥ*) having obtained asylum (*āśritya*) lived, and also the tribes living in the forest. These were conquered. Apparently these robber tribes were the descendants of the Eastern Iranian speaking ancestors of the Wakhānis, Shighnis, Roshanis and the Sarīkolīs of the Pāmīr plateau. Then comes the most important section of the campaign—the conquest of the allied forces (*sahitān*) of the Lohas, Paramakāmbojas and the Rṣikas of the north or the Great Rṣikas (M.B., II, 24). The Paramakāmbojas have been identified by Prof. Jayachandra Vidyālamkāra¹³ with the Galcha speaking Yāghnobis who live in the Valley of Yagh nob at the head water of the Zarafshān river, a tract of country considerably to the north of the Pāmīrs and separated from them by the hill states subordinate to Bokhārā,¹⁴ though he has not stated his reasons for this identification. The same writer has suggested the identification of the Yüe-chī's with the Rṣikas.

The problem of identifying the Rṣikas with the Yüe-Chi is not a new one and is closely connected with the problem of Ārśi the language of the Śakas in the

¹¹ *Imperial Gaz.*, Vol. I, p. 10.

¹² Holdich, *loc. cit.*, p. 427.

¹³ *Bhāratbhūmi aur uske nivāsī*, p. 313. V.S. 1987.

¹⁴ *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. X, pp. 455-56.

Central Asian texts, the Ārsi Kanta, i.e., Ārsi tongue.¹⁵ It has been also suggested to connect Yüe-chi with Ārsi on certain phonetic peculiarities in the Chinese which used *üe* to understand *ri*, *ür* and *o* in the transliteration of Indian words.¹⁶ Klaproth derived the Yü-chi from Yetes. Franke takes them to be the people of Yet or Get; Baron von Stael Holstein infers a pronunciation Kurshi or Gurshi, and F. W. K. Müller maintains that Yüe-chi is probably a rendering of the same word which we have learned to know as Ārsi as a designation of the language of the Tocharians the view to which Franke has subsequently agreed.¹⁷ The battle royal over Ārsi has not yet finished. H. W. Bailey¹⁸ derives Ārsi from the Sanskrit Araya. Pelliot¹⁹ rejects the derivation of Ārsi from Ṛṣika as Pandit's etymology and the same author²⁰ finds the rejection of Ārsi as convincing.

Before we advance our own views about the Ṛṣikas it would be better to state briefly the facts already known about the migration of the Yüe-chi, and then try to reconcile it if possible with the information supplied by the *Mahābhārata* about the Ṛṣikas.

The Yüe-chi first appear in history in Kansu province in the north-west of China, where they had apparently been living for some time. According to Chang Ki'en before they were defeated by the Hiungnu they lived between Tun-huang (now Sha-chou) and K'i-lien (a hill south-west of Kan-chou-fu).²¹ A struggle between the Yüe-chi and the Hiung-nu, the progenitors of the later Huns, culminated in 176 or 174 B.C. in the complete

¹⁵ Sieg, SBAW, 1918, pp. 560 ff. quoted by Sten Konow (CII, II, p. viii, fn. 3).

¹⁶ Hirth, *Journal of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1886, p. 220.

¹⁷ CII, II, p. lix.

¹⁸ Ttāgara, BSOS, VIII, 1936, pp. 883, 905 *sqq.*

¹⁹ JA, 1934, p. 23.

²⁰ *To'ung-Pao*, XXXII, 1936, p. 265.

²¹ Hirth, JAOS, 1917, pp. 96-97.

defeat of the Yüe-chi. They were compelled to quit Kan-su and set out on their long journey westward. Part of the horde called by the Chinese Siao-Yüe-Chi, in contrast to the larger body the Ta Yüe-Chi unwilling to hazard and the long journey turned southward and settled into the Tarim Valley.²² The main horde going westward fell on the Wu-sun, killed the king, occupied their grazing ground and were again driven away by the Hiungnu. Still going westward they attacked Sai-Wang some time before 160 B.C., about the lake Issyk-Kul and the plain northward of the Alexandrovsky range and the Sai-Wang fled southward. Their subsequent movement will be examined later on. But in or just before 160 B.C. the Yüe-Chi were again attacked by the son of Wusun King with the help of the Hiung-nu and were driven out of the Sai-Wang country. The main body of the Yüe-Chi again went westward. After 160 B.C. the Yüe-Chi disappear for a generation reappearing shortly before 128 B.C.

What ultimately turned them southward is unknown. It seems that the intervening years between 160—128 B.C. were spent in fighting to settle down somewhere. Between 141—128 B.C. they crossed Jaxartes westward of Ferghana went southward and finished off the Greek Kingdom of Bactria. They were living north of the Oxus²³ when Chang K'ien visited them not having yet moved across the Oxus into Bactria though they had conquered it. The chronological sequence in the great movement of Yüe-Chi has been arranged by Hirth.²⁴ In the following sequence: In 176 the Yüe-Chi were defeated by the Hiung-nu for the second time; in 165 B.C. Lau Shang, Mau-tun's successor annihilated the Yüe-Chi and the Yüe-Chi fled westward; in 164 B.C. they settled down

²² Ib. 1917, p. 97.

²³ Hirth, p. 97.

²⁴ Ib. pp. 133-34.

r Issyk-kul driving away Sai-Wang who migrated thward and became the rulers of Kipin; in 160 B.C.

Wusun drove away the Yüe-Chi and occupied their ritory near Issyk-kul. It is necessary to remember se dates and the Yüe-Chi settlement near Issyk-kul to ich we will have to return presently.

Now let us return for a moment to the nomad conquest Bactria. It has been a practice with the older iters to attribute the fall of Bactria to Sakas, ough the statement of Chang K'ien who attributes conquest to Ta Yüe-Chi should have been taken final. This mistake according to W. W. Tarn²⁵ o has made the latest contribution to the problem the nomad conquest of Bactria, arose from a ple passage of Strabo (XI, 511) in which he says that Sakas occupied Bactria. But as the context proves is talking of the Achaemenid times or probably the century B.C., when the great Saka invasion well-own from the Assyrian sources which had played its t in the fall of Ninevah and had penetrated as far as padocian Pontus.

Apollodorus attributes the conquest of Bactria to r nomad peoples namely Asii, Pasiani, Tochari and arauli (Strabo. XI, 511). The 'Trogus Source' ogus Prol. XLI) formally attributes it to two—Asiani Saraucae, though subsequently he mentions Tochari. ing the Trogus source first one of the two names must resent Chang K'ien's Yüe-Chi and as Saraucae are of the question the Asiani should represent the Yüe-i (Tarn, *loc. cit.*, p. 284). The form Asiani is an Ira-n adjectival form of Apollodorus' Asii which is the ntantival form; the Asii are therefore Yüe-Chi. This ntification of Yüe-Chi with Asii lead to the great con-ersy.²⁶ From 1918—36 it was further believed that

²⁵ *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 283; London, 1938.

²⁶ Sten Konow, CIL., II, pp. iviii Sq; T. Pelliot, JA, 224, 34, p. 25, n2.

the Ārśi of the Central Asian texts was the language spoken by the Tocharians; its very existence was also denied. It has, however, been shown (Tarn, *Loc. cit.*, p. 285) that the Hellenistic world knew of a people called Ārśi even if Central Asia did not. The name occurs in a curious list of people in Pliny.²⁷ This only proves that Pliny was acquainted with the original name of the Asii but not knowing where to place them put them in the refuge list.

Another name which must be considered, as it has definite connection with the Paramarśika of Arjuna's campaign (M.B., II, 24, 25) is Pasiani. In the conquest of Bactria Apollodorus speaks of a Saka tribe Pasiani. As Asiani is the adjectival form of Asii so Pasiani should be a similar adjectival form of a name Pasi or Pasi; and there is no doubt that this name is Parsii of Greek geographers.

Tarn locates the Pasi west of the Arius, Tapuria and Traxiane²⁸ and tries to identify them with Paras-Parsua—the Persian tribes who played an important rôle in the history of Iran. As the house of the ancient Persians was Eranvez identified with Khawarizm Tarn suggests that the Parsii-Parsua stayed behind in Eranvez, which their kinsmen migrated south and later on played their part in the eviction of the Greeks from Bactria. This argument is rather speculative.

Now let us examine at some length as to what the *Mahābhārata* has to say about the Rṣikas, though unfortunately its information is rather meagre. In the *Ādi-parva* (M.B., I. 61. 30) the homage of the eponymous Rṣika King is traced from Candra and Diti. In this connection it is interesting to note Prof. Charpentier's²⁹ suggestion that the word Yüe-Chi could be translated as 'the moon clan.' It is difficult to trace the connection of

²⁷ VI, 16, 48, sqq.

²⁸ Tarn, *loc. cit.*, p. 292.

²⁹ ZDMG, 71, 1917, p. 375.

the Rṣikas with the Moon God, except the *Mahābhārata*. The Rṣikas again appear in the *Udyogaparva* (V. 4. 15) where they are mentioned in the company of the Śakas, Pahlavas, Daradas, Kāmbojas, and Paścima-anūpakas. It is worthy to note that here as well they are placed side by side with the Kambojas. In the variant text of Kāmboja (D'jā) *rṣika-rājñamca* the adjectival form of *Rṣika* is also found. We shall discuss its import later on. Then we meet the Rṣikas in the north-easterly direction of Kamboja country (M.B., II, 24, 24-23) or Badakshān. In the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute's edition of the *Sabhāparva* the Prākṛt form of the Rṣika namely Iṣi and Iṣī have been noted among the variants. These forms are very important as we shall presently see that the Greek historians were acquainted with both the Sanskrit and Prākṛt forms of the Rṣika. In another couplet (M.B., II. 24, 25) describing a battle between Paramarṣika and Arjuna, the adjectival form of the substantival form Paramārṣika is found. Thus we find that the Mahābhārata knew of the Rṣika, its adjectival form Arṣika, its Prākṛt forms Iṣika and Iṣīka, and the adjectival form of Paramarṣika—Paramārṣika.

Now coming to the Greek forms of one of the nomad tribes who conquered Bactria and who have been identified with the Yüe-Chī by Tarn, we meet Asii in Apollodorus.³⁰ Asiani in the Trogus Source³¹ is the adjectival form of the Asii of Apollodorus. Tarn has also hunted out the original Arsi from pliny (VI, 16, 48 Sqq). It is not difficult now to see that the Greek Asii is from Sanskrit Isi or Isi, and probably the Greek Arsi may be derived from Sanskrit Arṣika.

Now we come to Pasiani, another tribe who invaded Bactria according to Apollodoros. Tarn as we have already shown by a long winded argument tries to prove that

³⁰ Strābo, XI, 511.

³¹ Trogus ProL. XLI.

they were Parsa—Parsua who played such an important part in the history of Iran. The Pasiani according to him were the remnant of these of tribes in the Eranvej. But we have in the *Sabhāparva* a tribe of the Paramaṛṣikas whose adjectival form Paramāṛṣika (II, 24, 25) has been mentioned. Could we not identify the Pasiani of Apollodoros with them? Apparently they were a separate tribe being the member of the Yüe-Chi clan with whom they fought against Arjuna.

Now reverting to the campaign of Arjuna we find that the first part of his campaign was devoted to the reduction of the Kāmbojas of Badakshān. Then he proceeded in the north-easterly direction and reduced the robber tribes (M. B. II, 24, 23) and the Lohas, Paramakāmbojas and finally the Ṛṣikas (III. 24, 24). A glance at the map of eastern Afghānistān and adjacent countries should convince us that the Lohas and Kambojas and the robber tribes must have been settled in the country which is represented now by the Tadzhik Soviet Social Republic which till recently was divided in the Russian Wakhan, Shighnān, Roshan and Darwānz etc. It is known that the Yüe-Chi were in 160 B.C. or thereabout in the region of the Lake Issyk-Kul from where they were driven out by the Hiung-nu and Wu-sung. It seems probable that the author or authors of the *Sabhāparva* have very cleverly transposed the doing of the Hiung-nu to Arjuna. The union of the Yüe-chi and the Eastern Iranian speaking republics on the Oxus was natural in the face of common danger; moreover there were close ethnic relation between Tajiks and the Yüe-chi both of whom came from the common Iranian stock; this must have further cemented the bond of friendship.

Another very important point which should not escape our attention is the adjective Uttara used in connection with the Ṛṣikas (*Uttarān-ṛṣikān*, II, 24, 24), which denotes here the sense of superiority or greatness and which is an exact equivalence of the Ta Yüe-Chi as oppos-

ed to the Sieou Yüe-Chī or little Yüe-Chī. After all the Sanskrit geographers were not so fantastic or ignorant as it is generally supposed.

In the *Upāyanaparva* (*Sabhāparva*, Chapters 47 & 48) the allusions to the Śakas, Tukhāras, Kaṅkas, Cīnas, Hūnas and the order in which they are described, and their relative positions determinable by the Chinese sources also throw considerable light on the date of the *Sabhāparva*. In a couplet (*M.B.*, II, 47, 19) the following order is given:—Cīna, Hūna Śaka Oḍra, the inhabitants of the mountainous country (*parvātāntaravāsinaḥ*); at another place Śaka, Tukhāra, Kaṅka (*M.B.*, II 47, 26) in their respective order are mentioned; at a third place Śaunḍika, Kukkura and Śaka (*M.B.*, II 48, 15) appear. But before we take up the discussion any further it would be better to know something about the history of the Śakas and other tribes mentioned above.

We need not bother ourselves with the earlier references to Śakas in Herodotus pointing their home in the plains east of the Caspian and north of Jaxartes in the Pamir country, to the north of Hindūkush and east of Bactria and Sogdiana and later on Seistan, and the allusions to the Saka *Tigrakhauda*, Haumavarka and Tardarya the last living on the east of the Caspian Sea as mentioned in the inscriptions of Darius³² as these Sakas lived at a time with which we are not concerned.

In the Chinese annals they are known as Sai and in the oldest sources they are spoken of as Sai-wang. Sometimes before 160 B.C. they were driven off from their own home by the Yüe-Chī who were in their turn driven out by Wu-sun whose settlements according to Prof. Franke, extended from Urumchi to the west of Issik-Kul, from the Dzungarian desert and down towards Tarim.³³ The Ts'ien Han Shu³⁴ speaks of several Sai states. It seems

³² Konow, CII. II, pp. XVII—XVIII.

³³ *Ib.*, p. XIX.

³⁴ A. Wylie, *Notes on the Western Regions*, *J. R. Anthro. Soc.*, Vol. X, p. 34.

that they were greatly affected by the great nomadic movement in the second century B.C.

A laconic statement in Ts'ien Han Shu states that the Sai-wangs after their defeat by the Yüe-Chi went southwards and made themselves masters of Kipin.³⁵ The routes over which they passed was the Hien-fu (the hanging passage) which according to M. Chavannes is the Bolar route through the Yasin Valley by which the travellers went to Wakhan, then to Indus and further to Kashmir or Udyāna.³⁶ According to Sten Konow however, the Kipin country comprised the Swat valley and it extended westward towards Arachosia; whether it extended to Kabul is uncertain. The Saka occupation of Kipin is further supported by the description of Sha—mi, the present Mastuj by Yuan Chwang which mentions that the king of that country was of Śākya race. Sten Konow also quotes *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* (V. 960) of Hemacandra in which the Lampākās are said to be *murundas* which shows that even at a comparatively late period the memory of the rule of the Saka Murundas had been preserved. This theory of the Saka occupation of Kipin has been rejected.³⁷ Their main movement, impeded by the Yavana power in Kabul, according to the *Cambridge History*, would naturally be westwards in the direction of Herat and thence southwards to Seistan.

A novel suggestion has been put forward by Tarn³⁸ which deserves our consideration. According to him the Sai-wang flight southward, which more correctly should mean south-west, would take them across Jaxartes to Ferghana. At this stage, they must have ceased to be a hoard as the Chinese literature does not mention them. It is probable that some joined Ka'ng-kiu whose grazing ground was the Tashkant plain, but those who went to

³⁵ Wylie, *loc. cit.*, p. 34.

³⁶ CII, II, p. XXIII.

³⁷ *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 567.

³⁸ Tarn, *loc. cit.*, p. 278.

Ki-pin probably joined the Sacaraucae, who occupied Khojend and the Steppes west of it, for it does not appear how otherwise they could have reached India. The remainder of the Sai-wang horde settled in the Greek provinces of Ferghana—their name mixing up with the name of the Province which in Chinese was Ta-yuan. There they set up the Saka or rather nomad government which Chang K'ien found in 128 B.C.; they are represented as distinct from the Kang-kiu, but on good terms with them.

The Tocharians have also received much attention. The scholars have generally occupied Marquart's identification of Ta-hia with Tu-ho-lo a designation met in the history of Northern Wei³⁹ (A.D. 386-556). But many scholars from Richtofen to Herzfeld have held that the Tochari were the Yüe-Chi. The word has been identified with the Thagouroi of Ptolemy (VI, 16, 5) on the silk route; the Chinese knew of remnants of the Togara in Kan-su in the second century B.C.; the name occurs in or about Kan-su in Tibetan texts; and the same name *taugara* for a town in Kan-su is found in a document in the Khotan Saka with date equivalent to as late as 800 A.D.⁴⁰ It follows that the Tochari in Bactria as mentioned by Apollodorus came from Kan-su, but the Chinese historians say that Yüe-chi came to Bactria at that time. Again we know from Apollodorus and Pliny that while there were no Tocharis in the Tarim basin in the reign of Euthydemus (died 190 B.C.) there were Tochari there later at the date of some source of Pliny (VI. 55), and here again we learn from the Chinese sources that the little Yüe-Chi came and settled there sometime not long after 174 B.C.; and the Indian writers called them by the same name Tokhāra.⁴¹ Finally Ptolemy unknowingly locates Tochari at several places where the Yüe-Chi are known to have been on their

³⁹ CII, II, Ivii.

⁴⁰ Tarn, loc. cit., pp. 285-86.

⁴¹ Sylvain Lévi, J.A., 1897, I, p. 10; 1933, p. 26.

journey. Thagourai in Kan-su, Takoraioi north of Imaos, Tagourai near lake Issyk-Kul, Tachoroi in Sogdiana and Tocharoi in Bactria which alone should be conclusive.⁴² The Yüe-Chi hoard therefore was composed of two different peoples who appear in the Greek sources as Asii or Tochari. The Trogus source gives out the relationship where he says that the Asii are lords of the Tochari.⁴³

The race and the language of the Tochari is a difficult problem. It was once supposed that they brought it from Europe and spoke the Centum language with the Italo-Celtic affinities discovered in Chinese Turkestan. Today two dialects said to be A and B the languages of two states in northern part of Chinese Turkestan A of Agni-Karachar (Turfan) and B of Kucha are known, and that none of these languages could be the language of historical Tochari, who invaded Bactria as their name is aspirated while dialect A and B have no aspirates.

The Kaṅkas (M.B. II, 47, 26) may probably be identified with the Ka'ng-Kiu⁴⁴—the inhabitants of Sogdiana, placed in the company of Śakas and Tukhāras. The Ka'ng-kiu according to Chang-kien were under the political influence of Yüe-Chi⁴⁵ on the south and on the east under that of Hiung-nu.

The relative position of the Śakas, if we take them to be settled in Ta-yuan, and the Kankas is settled as their country was conterminus.⁴⁶ The Tokharas who were probably a component tribe of the Great Yüe-Chi were perhaps encamped further to the south. It is therefore clear that the arrangement followed in the *Sabhāparva* in placing the Śakas, Tukhāras and Kaṅkas gives their relative position in the second century B.C. It is significant

⁴² Tarn, *loc. cit.*, 286.

⁴³ *Trogus Pro.* XLII, Tarn, *loc. cit.*, 286.

⁴⁴ Hirth, *loc. cit.*, p. 96.

⁴⁵ *Ib. loc. cit.* p. 96.

⁴⁶ *Ib.*

e Rṣikas are missing in the list. The only conclusion which could be drawn from this is that after their in 160 B.C. when they had moved towards the he Tukhāras were sent as vanguards and the in- on contained in this particular passage could be etween 160 B.C. and 128 B.C. the year in which i defeated the Greek power of Bactria. A pro- date of 150 B.C. may be assigned to this state of

other passage which is quoted below also confirms v that the *Sabhāparva* was probably composed in nd century B.C. The couplet in question is from *vijayaparva* in which Sahadeva having conquered dyas, the Draviḍas, the Coḍras, Kerlas, Andhras, , Kalingas and the Uṣṭrakarnikas (M.B., 48) subdued Antākhi and Romā by the despatch olitical missions only.

अन्ताखीं चैत रोमांच यवनानां पुरं तथा

दूतैरेव वशे चक्रे करं चैनानदापयत् M.B., II, 28, 49

ntākhī is substituted by the editor as correct l probably he is right.

re coming to Sahadeva's embassy to Antioch it is or us to know certain broad facts in the of the Seleucid kings. Alexander died in . and Seleucus I assumed the satrapy of ern empire. It was not till 311 B.C. that free to deal with his distant provinces. The is Indian expedition is stated to be 304 or 305.⁴⁷ defeated by Candragupta Maurya and had to to his adversary the Satrapies of Arachosia r) and the Paropanisadae (Kabul), with at least tion of Gedrosia (Balūchistān) and Aria (Herat). e became joint king with his son Antiochus.⁴⁸ ssasinated in 283 B.C. Seleucus was the founder

of the city of Antioch—a city in Syria described as Epidaphnes or as “on the Orantes” to distinguish it from the fifteen other Greek towns which like itself owed their foundation to Seleucus Nicator, and their names to his father Antiochus.⁴⁹ The probable date of the foundation of the city is 300 B.C.⁵⁰

In the time of Antiochus I (283—261) and even earlier the friendly relation with the Mauryas continued. Athenaeus (I, 32, 18 D) has preserved the story of certain drugs sent as present by Candragupta I to Seleucus I and it is to the same writer (XIV, 67, 652 I and 653A) that we have an anecdote of how Chandra-gupta's son Bindusāra wrote to Antiochus I requesting him to buy and send him some wine, figs and a sophist to teach him to argue. Antiochus replied sending the figs and wine but not the sophist who, he wrote, were not saleable. The intercourse was not only confined to these civilities. We know of Megasthenes' missions to the court of Chandragupta, and Daimachus of Plataea also went on mission or missions from Antiochus to Bindusāra. Pliny (His Nat, VI, 58) also speaks of a mission of certain Dionysius sent by Ptolemy Philadelphus (285—246 B.C.), which was sent probably to Bindusāra or Aśoka.⁵¹

On the Indian side Aśoka (274—237—6 B.C.) as mentioned in the Thirteenth Rock Edict sent embassies to Antiochus III (261 B.C.), Ptolemy (Philadelphus of Egypt (285—247 B.C.), Antigonus (Gonatas of Macedon 278—239), Magas (of Cyrene, died 258) and Alexander (of Epirus 278—258?) probably in 258 B.C.⁵² Later on the contact was renewed when Antiochus III (221—187 B.C.) in 206 B.C. in his short campaign in India met the Mauryan Sophagasenus or Subhāgasena⁵³ who presented

⁴⁹ *Encyclopaedia Br.*, Vol. I cf. Antioch.

⁵⁰ JAOS, 58, p. 265.

⁵¹ *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 432-33.

⁵² *Ib.* p. 502.

⁵³ *Ib.* p. 512.

him elephants. Antiochus IV (175—163 B.C.), though his direct contact with India is not mentioned, was the moving spirit behind Eucratides who overthrew Demetrius.⁵⁴

Now coming to the embassies sent by Sahadeva we are faced with a dilemma as to the period in which the embassy to Antioch was sent. Antioch was probably founded in about 300 B.C. and since then it had continuous friendly relation with the Mauryas which we have already described. The embassy was peaceful and not in connection with any war. Does it therefore reflect the embassy of Aśoka to Antiochus II in 258? But the date is too early on the strength of the evidences which we have already produced about the probable date of the *Sabhāparva*, though of course it is possible that in this couplet reference is being made to some previous event. Another point which should be marked is that at the time of the embassy the independent states of Antioch as the capital of free Seleucid state was recognised. This independence was greatly reduced after the battle of Magnesia in 187 B.C. when the Romans won over the forces of Antiochus III. Antiochus IV, though he was pulled sharply from time to time by the Romans to remind him of his allegiance to Roman State tried to reassert the waning power of the Seleucids. After his death in 163 B.C. Seleucid power declined rapidly. Antiochus VII (138 B.C.—129) the last strong representative of the old royal house fell fighting with the Parthians⁵⁵ in 129. After him follow a long line of rival kings fighting over what remained of the Seleucid Kingdom. The possibility is therefore that the embassy referred to may be dated either in the reign of Antiochus III (221—187 B.C.) or Antiochus IV (171—163 B.C.)

The reference to Rome or its exact Latin feminine

⁵⁴ Tarn, *loc. cit.*, Chap. V.

⁵⁵ *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. VIII, pp. 529-30.

form Romā is somewhat difficult to explain in the 2nd century B.C. as no Indian embassy reached the Romans until Augustus in the 1st century B.C.⁵⁶ It seems however possible that the Indians who had frequent intercourse with the Seleucids of Syria were acquainted with the name of Rome and perhaps also with its growing power, and the author of the Mahābhārata could not restrain himself from adding the name of Rome in the conquests of the Pāṇḍavas. But this is a pure suggestion and must be treated as such.

Another allusion which is of some importance in determining the date of the *Sabhāparva* refers to the conquest of the Vāṭadhāna Brāhmaṇas in Madhyamikā by Nakula in his expedition to the west (M.B., II, 29, 7). The first line of the verse (Ib.) says, तथा मध्यमिकायांश्च वाट धाना-
न्द्रिजानथ 'and in Madhyamikā he conquered the Vāṭadhāna Brāhmaṇas'. The statement looks quite simple but its import is of considerable importance. The siege of Madhyamikā by the Yavanas was such a famous event in the second century B.C., in the reign of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga, as to merit its being cited as a grammatical example by Patañjali. We shall return to the events presently. In this connection a few words about the Śuṅgas would not be out of place here.

The origin of the Śuṅgas is obscure, the word Śuṅga which denotes fig tree may perhaps be tribal. According to Pāṇini (IV, I, 117) they claimed to be the descendants of Bharadvāja, the Purohita of Divodāsa, the king of Titsus. They probably lived in the countries which under the Mauryan Empire were included in the viceroyalty of Ujjain.⁵⁷

We are not concerned here with the various events of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga's life. We are only concerned here

⁵⁶ *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*, pp. 35—38.

⁵⁷ *The Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 518.

with the invasion of India by Demetrius with his generals Apollodotus and Menender and the siege of Madhyamikā by the Yavanas in his time.

This siege of Madhyamikā is supported to some extent by the grammarian Patañjali (a contemporary of the Śuṅga King, Puṣyamitra) who to illustrate the use of the imperfect tense (to denote an event which had recently happened) quotes the example.⁵⁸ 'The Yavana was besieging Sāketa: The Yavana was besieging Madhyamikā.' The siege of Madhyamikā is attributed to Apollodotus by Tarn⁵⁹ who concludes that the country was conquered and the Śibis⁶⁰ whose coins have been found at Nagarī near Chittor and whose original country was about Jhang in the Southern Panjab were brought and settled there by Apollodotus.⁶¹ This is however a pure speculation. The possibility is that the turmoil which must have followed in the wake of the Greek invasion compelled the Śibis to seek refuge elsewhere and their settlement at Madhyamikā probably was affected after the retirement of the Greeks. All these events must have happened by 175 B.C.⁶²

Now let us examine the information we get in the conquest of Madhyamikā by Nakula. The first important point is that the city must have been defended by the Vāṭadhāna Brāhmaṇas and that they were conquered. There is every possibility that the event here points to the siege of Madhyamikā, a town which has been identified with Nagarī near Chittor in Southern Rajputānā⁶³—the action being cleverly transferred from the Yavanas to Nakula. The probability is that the Śuṅgas were the

⁵⁸ Kielhorn, *Ind. Ant.* VII, p. 266.

⁵⁹ Tarn, *loc. cit.*, p. 150.

⁶⁰ *Ib.* p. 151.

⁶¹ Tarn, p. 151.

⁶² *Ib.* p. 156.

⁶³ For references, Allan, *Coins of Ancient India*, pp. cxxii-cxxv.

Vāṭadhāna Brāhmaṇas as Vāṭa and Śuṅga both in Sanskrit mean Banyan tree. It is curious to note, however, that according to the *Manu-Smṛti* the Vāṭadhānas were the offspring of an outcaste Brāhmaṇa by a Brāhmaṇa mother (X, 21).

Lastly there is another list (M.B., II, 47, 19) in which the names of the Cīnas, Hūnas, Śakas and Oḍras appear in a descending order. The appearance of the Hūnas may at once make us jump to the conclusion that the text must be of the 5th century or later when the Indians to their cost came to know of the Hūns. But these are not the Hūnas of the 5th century and neither their presence within the boundaries of India should be sought for. They probably represent the Hiung-nu settled on the borders of China, who drove away the Yüe-Chī and whose depredations caused the Han kings to build the Great Wall as a protection against their inroads. The order in which the tribes are mentioned here is quite appropriate. First come the great Chinese people then the Hūnas or Hiung-nu from the Mongolian side, then the Saka tribes settled near Issyk-kul in the beginning of the second century B.C.⁶⁴ and then finally the Oḍras or the inhabitants of Swat about whom we shall have to say something later on. The mention of the Oḍras immediately after the Śakas probably points to the route which a section of the Sakas took after their defeat by the Yüe-Chī which landed them in Swat and thence to Ki-pin. In this list the author of the *Sabhāparva* seems to emphasise the ethnic importance of the races in their proper order.

The foregoing discussion so far has tended to prove by various internal evidences to throw light on the probable date of the *Sabhāparva*. The geographical positions of the Ṛṣikas, Śakas, Tukhāras, Kaṅkas, Hūnas, Cīnas, etc., have been discussed already. The light which is thrown by the allusions to Antakhī and Romā (which show

⁶⁴ CII, II, p. XIX.

connection with the Greek and the Roman world) on the probable date of the *Sabhāparva* has been further increased by the mention of *Madhyamikā*. Weighing all the evidences it may be said that the events referred to in the *Sabhāparva* range between 184 B.C. to 148 B.C., i.e., the period of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga.

That was the period of the Brāhmanical revival. It is perhaps in this period that the Pāṇḍus the heroes of the *Mahābhārata* first appear in a *vārtika* or supplementary rule to Pāṇini (IV, I, 44) attributed to Kātyāyana (180 B.C.). It is also in the second century B.C. that we find unmistakable allusions to what we may call an epic poem in the account of the *Mahābhāṣya*, which alludes to the poetic treatment of the epic and speaks of the epic characters.⁶⁵ It seems that this was the formative period of the epic, though nobody need have any doubt that the story existed in some form or the other long before it as mentioned in *Āśvalāyana Grhyasūtra* (III, 3, 1) which mentions Bhārata.

III

After the conquest of the four quarters by the Pāṇḍava brothers the proper atmosphere for the *Rājasūya* sacrifice was created. The rulers from all the quarters of India including Duryodhana were invited to attend the *Rājasūya*. One could easily conjure up the vision of such a function by witnessing the installation ceremony of a Hindu ruling chief of some standing. There are Yajñas to which the Brāhmaṇas throng, then there are processions in which all the wealth of the state is paraded, then there are *darbars* in which the Sardārs and Jagīrdārs make presents to their overlord. This ceremony in the ancient times must have been presented with the pomp and show many times multiplied. As reported

⁶⁵ *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 253.

by Duryodhana, the tribute payers simply thronged at the gates of Yudhiṣṭhira, and such was the court etiquette that even the people of standing could gain admission with difficulty. A touch of barbaric splendour was added by the presence of semi-barbaric tribes of the Himālayas, the Hindūkush and beyond. There were also the Santals, the Kirātas, and the Śbaras from the eastern and central India. Vying with them were the long established states of the Panjāb and other parts of India who had brought horses, elephants, shawls, precious stones, gold, silver, furniture etc., as gifts. As is natural Duryodhana the scion of an ancient but impoverished family was fired with jealousy at such display of wealth. The report of the Rājasūya assembly which he made to Dhṛtarāṣṭra, his father, is of great import from the point of view of the historical geography of India. In the following pages an attempt will be made to determine the locations of various states with a full description of the presents which they brought:—

Vāṭadhāna (M.B., II, 45, 24). Literally the word *vaṭā* means made or consisting of the Banyan or Indian fig tree or its wood. In the *Mahābhārata Ādiparva* (I, 61, 58) the name has been derived from an eponymous king Vāṭadhāna who was of the same Krodhavaśa group as the eponymous kings of Vāhlikas, Madras and Sauvīras, etc. (I, 61). In the *Udyogaparva* (V, 5, 24) it is mentioned that they had assembled on the side of the Kauravas. In the *Sabhāparva* (II, 29, 7) their country is mentioned to be Madhyamikā which has been indentified with Nagari near Chittor in southern Rajputānā, though their presence should not conclude that they were the original inhabitants of the place. At another place (M.B., II, 45, 24) the Vāṭadhāna Brāhmaṇas (*Brāhmaṇā Vāṭadhānāḥ*) said to be engaged in the profession of rearing cattle (*gomantah*) had assembled collectively in hundreds (*śatasanghśah*) with innumerable gifts at the palace of Yudhiṣṭhira. The word *śatasangha* is probably significant pointing to the existence of more than one Vāṭadhāna

republican community. It may be pointed out here that Alexander in his campaign (Arrian VI, 7) on the Rāvi personally lead his army against a city of the Brāhmaṇas, which has been identified by Cunningham with the old ruined town and fort of Atari which is situated twenty miles to the west-south-west of Tulumba, and on high-road to Multan, from which it is thirty miles distant.⁶⁶ Diodorus (XVII, 53) again speaks of the country of the Brāhmaṇas and a city called Harmatelia in connection with Alexander's campaign in Sind. The city has been identified by Cunningham as Brahmanābad which was situated on the old channel of the Indus forty seven miles to the north-east of Haidarābād, the Pātalā of the ancients. The original form of Harmatelia has been restored by Cunningham as Brahma-sthala.⁶⁷

Pargiter in his commentary on the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (LVII, 38) places the country of the Vāṭadhānas on the east side of Satlaj southward from Firozpur.⁶⁸ But the probability is that they had more than one state under them, and we may, if the Brahmin republics of the Alexander's campaign were also Vāṭadhānas, place them in southern Panjāb, lower Sind, and Southern Rajputānā. Manu's (X, 21) condemnation of the Vāṭadhānas is understandable as they were following the duties of a Kṣatriya in-so-much so as they owned states and the Śūdras as they tended cattles—the duties directly in contravention to the mode of life laid down for the Brāhmaṇas in Hindu religion.

Kamboja (*Sabhāparva*, 24, 22; 45, 19-20; 47, 3-4)

The identification of the Kamboja country is of great importance, and before we take this up on the strength of literary and linguistic evidences it would be not out of place here to take up the various notices of Kamboja in literature.

⁶⁶ Cunningham, *The Ancient Geography of India*, pp. 261-64.

⁶⁷ *Ib.*, 306-318.

⁶⁸ Pargiter, *Markaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p. 312.

There is no doubt that Kamboja was a very ancient country. As pointed out by Zimmer⁶⁹ in the *Vaiśa Brāhmaṇa*,⁷⁰ Kamboja Aupamanyava is a pupil of Madragāra.⁷¹ This according to the authors of the *Vedic Index* point to a possible connection of the Madras or possibly Uttaramadras with the Kambojas who had probably Iranian as well as Indian affinities.⁷² No opinion has been expressed about their location.

Yāska (II, I, 3, 4) speaking of dialectic forms of Sanskrit says that *śavati* in the sense of "going" is used only in the language of the Kambojas while its derivatives *śava* is used in the language of the Aryas. *śavati* does not occur in Sanskrit but is a good Iranian word. There is old Persian *śiya*, and the Avesta *śav*, *śavaite*, to go, Cf. Persian *śudan*, *Skreyav*. 'In other words,' as Grierson puts it, "the Kambojas were a barbarous tribe of North-western India who spoke Sanskrit with an infusion of Eranian words, to which they gave Indian inflexions, or else spoke a language partly Indo-Aryan and partly Eranian."

The derivation of the word racked the brain of the Pandits in ancient times as well. Continuing with Yāska (II, 1, 4)—*Kambojāḥ Kambalabhojāḥ Kamanīyabhojā vā Kambalaḥ Kamanīyam bhadati*—Kambojas are Bhojas with woollen shawls or handsome Bhojas etc., (wearing the Kambala to avoid cold adds the commentator). These fanciful derivations of the initials *kam* in Kamboja show the efforts of the ancients to solve the riddle. We shall have to come to this *kam* later on.

But before Grierson had shown the grammatical peculiarities of *śavati* as mentioned in Yāska Dr. Kuhn took

⁶⁹ *Alt Indische Leben*, p. 102.

⁷⁰ *Indische Studien*, IV, 371.

⁷¹ *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, pp. 84-85.

⁷² *Ib.*, Vol. I, p. 138.

up the question of Kambojas.⁷³ He quotes a *gāthā* from a Jātaka (Fausboll, VI, 210) which establishes beyond reasonable doubt that the Kambojas were of Iranian extraction. The *gāthā* is quoted below with the commentary:—

कीटा पतङ्गा उरगा च मेका, हन्त्वा किमिं सुञ्जति मन्त्रिका च एतो हि
धम्मा अनरियरूपा कंबोजकानं वितथा बहुन्नम् ।

“मच्चो सुञ्जति इति एतेसं पि कंबोजरट्ठवासीनं बहुन्नं अनरियानं धम्मा ।

“Those men are counted pure who kill frogs, worms, bees, snakes or insects as they will,—

These are your savage customs which I hate,—

Such as Kamboja hordes might emulate.”⁷⁴

With the Iranians the destruction of Ahramanic creatures was a duty. Mr. Nariman on the strength of Nepalese tradition⁷⁵ identifies Tibet with Kamboja.⁷⁶

In the *Āṅguttara Nikāya* (I, p. 213; IV, 222, 256, 261) Kamboja is mentioned with Gandhāra as one of the sixteen *Janapadas*. In the *Paramathadīpanī* on the *Petavatthu* (P. T. S. ed. p. 113) Dvārakā occurs with Kamboja. This a very important reference to which we shall revert in connection with the proper identification of Kamboja.

In Asoka's inscription Kamboja is placed with Yona, Gandhāra, Lathika and Pitanaka (Dhuli, V, 4—योनकंबोज गंधालेसु लठिकपितेनकेसु एवा पि अने आपलंता भटिमयेसु, II, p. 87) Kamboja also appears at Girnar (V, 5. योन कम्बोजगंधारानं); at Mansera, the Yonas and Kambojas (XIII, 10 योनकम्बोजेषु) are coupled. In the Mathurā

⁷³ Das Volker Kamboja bei Yaska, p. 213, in the “*Avesta, Pahlavi and Ancient Persian Studies in honour of the late Shams-ul-Ulama Dastur Peshotanji Behramji Sanjana*, Strassbourg & Leipzig, 1904. This article has been summarised by Mr. G. K. Nariman in J.R.A.S. 1912 pp. 255-257.

⁷⁴ *Jāfalla*, Tr. VI, p. 110.

⁷⁵ Foucher, *Iconographie bouddhique*, p. 134.

⁷⁶ J.R.A.S., pp. 256-257.

⁷⁷ Hultsingh, CII, I, p. 87.

Lion Capital inscription of the chief queen of Mahākṣtrapa Rajula (early 1st century A.D.) Sten Konow reads the local name of the queen as Kamuia meaning the Kambojan.⁷⁸

In the *Mahābhārata* (*Sabhāparva*, 24, 22) they are placed with the Daradas, and in the *Udyogparva* (III, 186, 30) they are found in the company of the Śakas, Pulindas and the Yavanas, and in the *Bhīṣmaparva* (IX 373) they are found with the Cīnas. According to Manu, they were Kṣatriyas who became degraded through the extinct of sacred rites (*Manusmṛti*, X, 43-44); their evil customs are referred to in the *Śantiparva* (CCVII, 7560-61). In the *Harivamśa* (XIII, 763-64; 775-83) it is said that they were degraded by Sagara and ordered to shave their whole head after the fashion of the Yavanas:—

अर्धे शकानां शिरसौ मुण्डयित्वा विसर्जयत्—यवनानां शिरः सर्वे कञ्चोजानां तथैव च—पारदा मुक्तकेशाश्च पल्लवाः श्मश्रुधारणैः निःस्वाध्यादवष्टकाराः कृतास्तेन महात्मना ।

It is obvious that the Hindus who by religion were ordained to have Śikhā or a top-knot looked askance towards those who had all their hair shaved; 'shaved like Yavanas (*Yavanamunḍa*), shaved like Kamboja (*Kambojamunḍa*)' were contemptuous terms in vogue since the days of Pāṇini (Gaṇpāṭha on *Mayūravāṇīśakādi* II, 1, 72).

Another distinguishing feature of the Kamboja country is its horses. In the *Sabhāparva* (II, 45, 20; 47, 4) the Kamboja horses are mentioned. The horses which the people of Kamboja brought as presentation to Yudhiṣṭhira (M.B. II, 47, 4) numbered three hundred, they were variegated, spotted or speckled with black (*kalmāṣaiḥ*) or of Tittira breed (Tittira is the name of a country as well, M.B., VI, 2084, 3975) which were fattened on the fruits of *Salvadora Persica* (*pīlu*) and the nuts of *Terminalia Catappa* (*īṅgudaiḥ*). Their snouts are compared with the parrot's beak (*śukanāsikaiḥ*).

⁷⁸ CII, II, p. 36.

In the *Jātaka* stories the Kamboj mules (*Kambojaka assatara*, J. IV, 654, G. 242) are mentioned. In the *Mahāvastu* (ii, 185) the superb horses of Kamboja (*Kambojaka asvavara*) are praised. In the *Sumangala-vilāsini* (Vol. I, p. 124) Kamboja is spoken as the home of horses (*Kambojo assānam āyatanam*). In the Jain *Uttarādhyana Sūtra* it is said that a trained Kamboja horse excelled all horses in speed and no noise could frighten it (*Jain Sūtras*, S. B. E., Part II, p. 47). The importance of the Kamboja horse was also recognised in the *Arthaśāstra* (*Arthaśāstra*, tr. p. 148, 3rd. ed.).

Besides the mares, the Kamboja people sent as presents to Yudhiṣṭhira cows and chariots (*rathayosidgavāśrasya*) (M. B., II, 45, 20) in good number and three hundred camels (II, 45, 20; 47, 4). They also sent as presents clothes made of sheep's wool and lynx furs decorated with gold (*aīḍānscailānvārṣadarṣāñjātarūpapariṣkṛtān*) (M. B., II, 47, 3), shawls and skins (*prāvārūjinamukhyānśca* (Ib.)). At another place the Kambojas are said to have presented very valuable blankets (*parārghyānapikambalān*) and the black, grey and red skins of the *Kadali* deer (*Kadali-Mrga-mokāni*) (M.B., II, 45. 19). The *Kadali* skin is described in the *Arthaśāstra* (pp. 80-81) as of rough quality and two ft. long; its another quality the *Candrottara Kadali* which was only one third of its length had variegated moon-like spots. The smallness of the skin indicates that the *Kadali* skins were probably of a species of very small deer or some rodent.

By the foregoing details it must have been evident by this time that the Kambojas were important people, but strange as it may look the Indologists are not at all unanimous in the location of this country. Lassen doubtfully places Kamboja in the south of Kāshgar and east of modern Kāfiristān. (Ind. Alt., Map). According to Rhys Davids⁷⁹ it was a country in the extreme north-west of India with

⁷⁹ *Buddhist India*, p. 184.

Dvārakā as its capital. Vincent Smith⁸⁰ seems to place it among the mountains of Tibet and Hindūkush perhaps in agreement with the view of Mr. Foucher who quotes for his identification the Nepalese tradition.⁸¹ Sylvain Levi as we shall see later on identifies it with Kāfiristān (J. A. 1923), Prof. H. C. Rāychowdhury,⁸² on the strength of a passage from the *Karṇaparva* (VIII. 4, 5) places Rājapura as contiguous to Kamboja. He identifies Rājapura of the *Karṇaparva* with the Rājapura of Yuan Chwang⁸³ placed in the south or south-east of Kashmir. Thus we can see that willow-the-wisp Kamboja has been shifting grounds from Tibet to Afghānistān and even south of Kashmir. Prof. Jayacandra⁸⁴ however has discussed the question afresh and he has on the basis of very strong evidences identified Kamboja with Badakshān and the Pāmirs. He takes up the theory of Pro. Raychowdhury first and shows that the Kamboja country which according to Prof. Raychowdhury was the ancient name of the present Chibhāl country in the south or south-east of Kashmir and also Hazara District reaching to the western confines of Kāfiristān, could not represent Kamboja as the ancient names for this joint tract was Uragā or Urasā (the Arasces of the Alexandrian historians) for Hazara and Abhi-sāra for the modern Chibhāl. He then takes up the references from Yāska which assigns *śavati* in the sense 'to go' to the language of the Kambojas and shows that the Ghalcha language of the Pamirs and the countries on the head waters of the Oxus mostly contain the root *śavati* in the sense 'to go'. He also quotes the *Mahābhārata* to show that Kamboja and Vāhlīka were often used as *Dvandva* compound and therefore their countries

⁸⁰ *Early History of India*, p. 134.

⁸¹ *Political History of India*, pp. 94-95.

⁸² *L' Iconographie bouddhique*, p. 134.

⁸³ Watters, I, p. 284.

⁸⁴ *Bhārat bhūmi aur uske nivāsi*, pp. 297-305 Samvat 1987.

were contumacious. As in our opinion Prof. Jayacandra has hit at the right identification his arguments need a little more elucidation and support.

We have already seen that most of the Indologists are convinced of the Iranian connections of the Kambojas, that leaves out Chibhāl country out of consideration. The consensus of opinion also seems to be in favour of locating Kamboja in the north-west of India. That the country was situated in the north even as late as the early seventh century is evident from the campaign of Muktāpīḍa Lalitāditya of Kashmir (695-732 A.D.). After conquering Avantī Lalitāditya entered the region of north (*Rājatarangīnī*, IV. 163). After defeating the Kambojas he deprived them of their horses (*Ib.*, IV. 165). The Tukhāras also abandoned their horses and fled (*Ib.*, IV. 166). Immediately after them the Bhauṭṭas and Daradas are mentioned and as the location of the Bhauṭṭas of Baltistān and Bolor and Dardistan is practically certain, the Kambojas could only be placed in Kāfiristān, Balkh-Badakshān and the Pamirs. There is another very important reference in Buddhist literature which should settle the location of Kamboja. As already mentioned in the *Paramatthadīpinī* (P. T. S., p. 113) a commentary on the *Petavatthu* the name of Dvāraka occurs with Kamboja. Naturally our mind is diverted to the famous Dvārakā in Kāthiawār and we begin feeling the absurdity of the reference. But there is very little doubt that the Dvārakā of the *Paramatthadīpinī* could be identified with the country of Darwaz—the exact Persian translation of Dvārakā in the north of Badakshān. Rhys Davids very nearly hits the nail when he describes Dvārakā as the capital of Kamboja, this is however not definite. The Tambyzoi (Ptolemy, VI. 11, 6) which Ptolemy places south of the Oxus is explained by M. Lévi as Kamboja only the initials going alteration—a distinguishing feature of the Austro-Asiatic languages. He has shown the exact parallel of the same phenomena occurring in the far east

in the same words as Kemboja and Semboja⁸⁵. Another very important reference in this connection is found in Idrisī, a medieval Arab geographer. After describing the beauties of Badakshān, the fertility of its soil, its fruits, its good breed of horses and mules and its richly coloured precious stones and the musk brought from Wakhān he mentions that Badakshān bordered on Qanauj (قنوج) a dependency of India.⁸⁶ There cannot be any doubt that the Qanauj of Idrisī is a mistake for Qabauj-Kamboj. The misplacing of the dots in the manuscripts of Idrisī's Geography is a common occurrence. Thus Bāmian is invariably written as Nāmian⁸⁷ and also Kāshān is written as Nāshān.⁸⁸ Apparently in the time of Idrisī the extent of the territory of the Kambojas had much decreased as Badakshān is mentioned as a separate state. Now the problem rises where to place the Kamboja of Idrisī: The pointer is towards Kafiristan—its Indian relationship pointing to the suzerainty of the Shāhis of Kābul.

The extent of the Kamboja country in ancient times could be fixed up perhaps by the countries which now speak Galchah languages—the speakers of Wakhī Shighnī, Sarīkolī, Zebakī, Sanglīchī or Ishkāshmi, Munjānī, Yūdghā and Yāghnobī perhaps represent the ancient Kāmbojas and Paramakāmbojas. In this connection it should be remembered that the members of the Galchah speaking group of languages are mainly confined to the Pāmīr country about the head-waters of the Oxus and are bounded on the west by Badakshān which probably in former times⁸⁹ also spoke Eastern-Iranian.

As mentioned in the *Raghuvamśa* (IV. 70) jewels were among the renowned products of the country.

⁸⁵ *J.A.*, 1923, p. 54.

⁸⁶ *La Geographic de al-Edresi*, Tr. Jaubert, Vol. I, pp. 478-79.

⁸⁷ *Ib.*, pp. 456, 474 etc.

⁸⁸ *Ib.*, pp. 462.

⁸⁹ *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. X, pp. 456-57.

Marco Polo (1272—73) speaks of the azure and rubies of Badakshān which had become famous in the form of Balas.⁹⁰ Captain Wood in his journey to the source of the Oxus heard of the ruby mines twenty miles off Ishkāshm in the district called Gharan on the right bank of the Oxus river⁹² and he personally visited the lapis lazuli mines in the Kokcha Valley.⁹³ The silver mines of Badakshān were also famous. In the Arab times there were rich silver mines at Anderab and also mines at Wakhān⁹⁴.

It is interesting to note that there is an agricultural community in the Panjāb which is known as Kamboh, though it is difficult to say what relation they bear to the ancient Kambojians. There are various traditions current among the Kambohs about their original home; some hold that they hailed from Kashmir, some trace their origin to Garh Ghazni; some say that their ancestors sided with the Kurus in the great Mahābhārata battle, the majority with their chief Sodaksha were killed and the remnants settled at Nābhā; some hold that the word is a compound made of Iranian Kai and Anboh and therefore the tribe has descended from the Kai dynasty of Iran etc.⁹⁵ It is remarkable that most of the traditions point to the trans-Indus origin of the tribe and their Iranian connections. Perhaps they are the modern representatives of the ancient Kambojians of Pamirs.

Kārpāsika (M.B. II, 47, 7). It is a very rare word and as far as my information goes only appears once in the Mahābhārata. The historicity of the place however is fully established by its reference in an inscription at Sānchī. In the inscription No. 143, the gift of one Araha

⁹⁰ *Ib.*, p. 456.

⁹¹ Wood, *loc. cit.*, p. XXXIII.

⁹² *Ib.*, p. 206.

⁹³ *Ib.*, p. 171.

⁹⁴ W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, pp. 65, 67. 1928.

⁹⁵ Rose, *A Glossary of the tribes and castes of the Panjab and N.W.F.*, Vol. II, pp. 443-44.

from Kārpāsī-grāma is mentioned.⁹⁶ The rarity of the word which is not repeated in Sāñchī inscriptions perhaps points to the great distance of the Kārpāsika country and the difficulties of communication between India and that country.

As the *Mahābhārata* is silent as regards the direction and situation of this country let us examine in detail whether any other source speaks about the country. Happily the author of *Fan yu tsa ming*, a Sanskrit-Chinese lexicon⁹⁷ of Li-yen (713, died between 789-95) comes to our rescue. For Kip-in or Kapiśa, the modern Kāfiristān Li-yen gives the Sanskrit equivalent Karpīśaya, the correct form of which according to Bagchi should be Kapiśaya,⁹⁸ no reasons, however, have been assigned by him for correcting this reading which in our view is correct—the Karpīśaya and Kapiśa being two different spellings of the same word. A fuller account of Ki-pin is needed to determine its identification with Kārpāsika.

It was a belief of the older Sinologists that Ki-pin in the time of Han and Wei period denoted Kashmir, and in T'ang period it was identified with Kapiśa⁹⁹ or the country drained by the northern tributaries of the Kabul river. In the T'ang period there can be no doubt that Ki-pin and Kapiśa denoted the same locality.¹⁰⁰ Sten Konow has examined in detail the identification of Ki-pin in Han and Wei periods specially by Lévi¹⁰¹ who bases his argument on certain Chinese works which identify Ki-pin with Kashmir. His argument may be summed up as follows: In the old annals which distin-

⁹⁶ The Monuments of Sanch, Vol. I, p. 314.

⁹⁷ Prabodhchandra Bagchi, *Deux lexiques Sanskrit-Chinois*, Tome II, pp. 340-45, Paris 1930.

⁹⁸ *Ib.*, p. 347.

⁹⁹ Sten Konow; for reference, see *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 90, 91.

¹⁰⁰ Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-Kie ((Turcs) occidentaux)*, p. 52, 1903. St. Petersburg.

¹⁰¹ J.A., IX, VI, pp. 371 ff.

guish Ki-pin from Kao-fu or Kabul could be a rendering of the Indian word Kapira comparable with Ptolemy's Kaspeiria (VII, 1, 42) and Kaspeiraioi which may represent Kaspira—Kashmira. After producing impressive arguments based on old Chinese documents and the examination of Fahien's route to India which refers Ki-pin as lying towards the west of Kashmir, Sten Konow comes to the conclusion that Ki-pin did not imply different geographical designations at two different periods but only denoted Kāfiristān.¹⁰² If as M. Lévi believed the original Indian word for Ki-pin was Kapira then it has some connection with Kārpāsika which did not indicate Kashmīr as it is mentioned elsewhere as a separate geographical entity in the *Upāyanaparva* (M.B., II. 48.13).

Another interesting point brought out by M. Lévi¹⁰³ is the equation of Kapiśa-Kamboja. Kapiśa¹⁰⁴ is changed to Ka-bu-śa by the Tibetan translator of the Mahāmāyurī.¹⁰⁵ This change of Kapiśa to Kabusa raised the question which M. Lévi has discussed, whether Kapiśa and Kamboja are not the same. In Kapiśa and Kamboja he finds an effort to render the spelling of a strange word which he analyses as $\frac{Ka}{Kam} = \frac{\partial}{Kam} : \frac{p}{b} = \frac{s'}{j}$. In both the cases there seems to have been an aspirate in the middle f and z which has been left out in Sanskrit. In the Greek name of Kambyes—Ka (m) bujiya the aspirate is changed to sibilant. But Solinus, the copyist of Pliny¹⁰⁶, calls the Capisa of Pliny as Caphusa, which the Delphine editors have altered to Capissa. Here two points should be marked, firstly the change of *i* to *u* as in the Tibetan transcription already described and the maintenance of the aspirate *ph* which disappears in the Greek spelling of

¹⁰² *Ib.* IX, VI, p. 91.

¹⁰³ *J.A.* II, 1923.

¹⁰⁴ *Capisa quam diruit Cyrus*, Pliny VI, 92.

¹⁰⁵ *J.A.* II, p. 52. 1923.

¹⁰⁶ Cunningham, *The Ancient Geography of India*, p. 22.

Ka (m) bujiya-Cambyses. Is it an effort on the part of Solinus to render the spelling of a word with infix *ph* which has disappeared by the Sanskritisation of Kapiśa, Kamboja and also Kārpāsa (ika)? The form Kaphusa for Kapiśa which seems to be equivalent to Kārpāsa could be explained. Kārpāsa is equal to Kāpus as in Marathi with the disappearance of ancient *pha* from both the forms substituted by the labial *p*; the Greek form however, maintains the ancient aspirate *pha*. The two aspirates appear clearly in the title of Kadphizēs when progress brought the Kuṣāṇas from Kuei-Chuang to the district of Kao-fu (Kabul) in Chinese transcription. The title of Kadphizes is symmetrical to the title of Taksiles under which the king of Takṣaśilā was known to the historians of Alexander.¹⁰⁷ Both are *tadrāja*.¹⁰⁸ The name of Kadphizes in Kharoṣṭhī is spelt as Kaphasa or Kapasa¹⁰⁹ on his coins found at Taxila and Lévi's interpretation of his belonging to Kapiśa is quite sound.¹¹⁰

Another alteration of Kapiśa Kamboja M. Lévi quotes from the *Rāmāyaṇa*. In the Kashmīr recension¹¹¹ the reading is *Arattam Kapiśam Bālhīm* (IV, 44, 27) which in Kṣemendrā's *Rāmāyaṇamañjarī* (IV, 252) become *Āraṭṭa, Bālhī, Kamboja*.

In connection with M. Lévi's theory that the Kamboja and Kapiśa are the same one may offer by the way of suggestion only the occurrence of the initials Kam in Kāmdesh, Kamah a river etc. Kamdesh in Kafir language is called Kāmbrom.¹¹² The upper region of the Bashgol Valley is Katirgol (Lutdeh in Chitrali and Kamtoz in Pushtu), the middle portion is Mumān (Madugāl in Chitrali) and the lower part Kām (Kamdesh in Chitrali

¹⁰⁷ J.A. II, 1923, p. 52.

¹⁰⁸ Pāṇini, IV, 1, 174.

¹⁰⁹ A.S.I., 1912-13, pp. 44, 51.

¹¹⁰ For other spelling of the name see C.I. p. LXVI.

¹¹¹ Weber, *Rāmāyaṇa*, p. 25 note.

¹¹² Robertson, *The Kafirs of Hindukush*, p. 21, London, 1896, F. ?

and Kamož in Pushtu¹¹³). Kām in Bashgolī and Kamož in Pushtu seem to point to the connection of Kāfiristān with ancient Kamboja.

Thus before us is placed a suggestion that Kapiś-Kamboja denoted the same geographical unit. To this may also be added Kārpāsika which on account of its rare appearance seems to be clinging to some original form phonetically very near to the Sanskritised form Kārpāsika when more common form as Kapiśa and Kamboja were being commonly used. One thing which has been made clear in the *Mahābhārata* is that though Kāfiristān might have formed a part of Kamboja republic, its separate geographical name as Kārpāsika is maintained. Later on however there was no difference between Kamboja and Kapiśa, as Īdrisi's Qanauj, a dependency of the Hindu Kings of Kabul could not be anything else but Kāfiristān. There is another thing which deserves our attention. Does the word Kāfir in Kāfiristān denote the usual contemptuous term in Arabic for the non-believers or does it signify the land of the Kapirs or some such original form from which the word Kārpāsika originated? Or is it possible that as Kanīṣka has become Kanerka so Kapiśa has changed to Kāfir¹¹⁴ (Walters, *loc. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 124)? If Ki-pin transcribes some original name as Kapir as suggested by Lévi, then it is probably Kāfiristan and not Kaspeiro which is nearer to it philologically.

The gift of the Kāfir country to Yudhiṣṭhira at the time of the Rājasūya were also in keeping with the tradition of their country (M. B., II, 47, 7). They are addressed as Śudras who brought with them hundred thousand of slave girls, resident of the Kārpāsika country, who were brown-eyed, slender-waisted (*śyāmāstanvyo*), whose hair grew luxuriantly and who were bedecked in golden ornaments. They also brought the goat-skins, and deer-skins worthy of even the Brāhmaṇas. It is no wonder

¹¹³ *Ib.*, p. 71.

that the Kāfirs are introduced as bringing slaves. Slavery till very recently was very common among the Kāfirs in whose country the women were regularly sold as chattels. The gift of the goat-skins throws light on the produce of the land. Even till recently, and there is no reason to believe, that the things have changed for the better, the boys and poor men of Kāfiristān only wore goat-skins. It was used by the great majority while raiding or hunting or when herding or watching their flocks. The goat-skin is a shapeless wrapper girdled at the waist by a leather strap. It only partially covers the neck and the chest and reaches half down the thighs.¹¹⁴

No description of the Kapiśa country without the Kāpiśāyanī Surā¹¹⁵ to which Pāṇini has devoted a whole Sūtra is complete though it is not mentioned among the gifts to Yudhiṣṭhira. Till very recently wine was prepared in Kāfiristan out of grapes. The grape juice was obtained by an extremely simple press. It was then allowed to ferment in a goat-skin. The new wine was extremely uninviting, but when kept two or three years it was clear and strong.¹¹⁶

Citraka (M.B. II, 46, 21). No direction is given. From the Buddhist literature (*Aṭṭhasālinī*, p. 350) we find a Cittala mountain which is also mentioned in the *Viśuddhimagga* (p. 292).¹¹⁷ It may be identified with the modern Chitral State in Dir, Swat, and Chitral Agency with an area of 4500 sq. miles. It comprises the whole of Kashkār-bala or Upper Kashkār, i.e., the Tirich Valley, which runs northwards from Tirich-mir for 60 miles until it joins the Turikho Valley; thence the combined stream runs south for 40 miles through the Mulkho Valley and joins the Kho Valley below Mastuj. On the north stands Hindukush range, on the west Badakshān and Kāfiristān,

¹¹⁴ Robertson, *loc. cit.*, pp. 508-9.

¹¹⁵ Pāṇinī, IV, 2, 99.

¹¹⁶ Robertson, *loc. cit.*, pp. 558-59.

¹¹⁷ B. C. Law, *Early Geography* . . . p. 41.

on the south Dir, and on east the Gilgit Agency, Mastuj and Yāsin.¹¹⁸

Kukura M.B., II, 46, 21; 48, 14, 15. At one place (M.B. II, 48, 14) they appear with the Ambaṣṭhas, Tārksyas, Vastrapas, Pahlavas and at the other (II, 48, 15) with the Śaundikas and Śakas.

Kukuras were a very ancient tribe forming a component of the great Vṛṣṇi confederation. In Megasthenes¹¹⁹ a very uncommon description of the tribe is given. They are described as a tribe living in the mountains and having heads like dogs, they were clothed in the skins of wild beasts, whose speech was barking; and who being armed with claws, lived by hunting and fowling. Apparently the story has been fabricated from the word Kukura meaning "dog". Pliny (VII, ii, 14-22) also repeats the same story. They are also mentioned in the inscription of Vāśiṣṭhīputra Pulumāyi issued in his 19th regnal year¹²⁰ where they are placed with Aparānta.

Probably they could be identified with the great Khokhar or Khokhur tribe of the Panjāb. They are found between the Jāts, Rājputs, Arāṇs, and Cuhrās. They are most numerous along the valley of Jhelum and Chenab and specially in Jhang and Shāhpur districts. They are also found, though in smaller number on the lower Indus and Satlaj, especially in Lahore, also along the foot of the hills from the Jhelum to the Satlaj. The Khokhars of Gujarāt and Siālkoṭ have a tradition that they were at first settled at Gaṛh Kharāna of which they were dispossessed by Timūr. In Akbar's time they were the principal tribe in Dasūya Paragana in Hoshiyārpur, and they now give their name to the Khokharain to a tract which contains some fifty villages in all but three of which

¹¹⁸ *Imp. Gaz.*, X, p. 301.

¹¹⁹ *Ancient India*, p. 79.

¹²⁰ *Nasik Cave Inscription*, No. 18, *Arch. Sur. of Western India*, Vol. IV, pp. 108-9.

are in Kapūrthalā State on the border of Dasūya Tahsīl.¹²¹

The origin of the Khokhars is obscure. In the Jhelum district they claim Rājput descent from Bharat and Jasrat.¹²² Some other Khokhars connect themselves with Persian Kings, specially Dahak whose descendants according to the Khokhar tradition were called Nāgbansīs. They also give their traditional history and mention a long list of kings as their ancestors.¹²³ What was their exact situation in the second century B.C. cannot be said. But if their traditional relationship with the Vṛṣṇis is taken for granted then they may perhaps be placed in Hoshiārpur district which is the probable findspot of a solitary bilingual coin of the Vṛṣṇi republic. In the first century B.C. or even earlier they seem to have moved to the Lower Sind and Kach and Kāthiāwād.

Kāraskara. M.B. II, 46, 21. They are also mentioned in the *Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra* (I, 2, 14). *Baudhāyana* prescribes expatiation after a visit to the countries of the Aratṭas, the Kāraskaras, the Puṇḍras, the Sauvīras, the Vaṅgas, the Kaliṅgas and the Prānūnas. They also appear in the *Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra* (XX, 13 (14), *Āpastamba* (XXII, 6, 18) and the *Hiraṇyakeśi Sūtras* (XVII, 6). Pāṇini was also acquainted with their existence. *Kāraskaro Vṛkṣaḥ* (VI, 1, 156) means a tree growing in the country of the Kāraskaras. The Kāraskaras may probably be identified as a section of the Chitrālīs living in Kashqār Valley. As Citrakas probably represent Chitrālīs, we have to assume the existence of two states within the boundaries of modern Chitral in ancient times.

Lohajāṅgha : M.B., II, 46, 21. Again no information is available with regard to their provenance.

¹²¹ Rose, *loc. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 539.

¹²² *Ib.*, pp. 539-40.

¹²³ *Ib.*, pp. 541-543.

Apparently they are distinguished from the Lohas who are mentioned with the Paramakāmbhojas and the Rṣikas (M.B., II, 24, 24). They also seem to be different from the Lohitas with their ten Maṇḍalas whose country Arjuna conquered after Kashmīr (M.B., II, 24, 16) and which probably was ancient Leh as pointed out by Stein.¹²⁴ They may be identified with the people living in the Logar Valley in the south of Kabul whose principal city Locharna is mentioned by Ptolemy.⁵ The word Roh was applied to some Afghan tribes who migrated to India and gave Rohilkhand or Bareilly district this name.

Bharukaccha : M.B., II, 47, 8. The people of Broach brought for presentation the Gandhāra horses. Apparently they must have been dealing in them. Bharukaccha the modern Broach in Gujarāt situated on the estuary of the Narbada was famous since the days of the Indo-Greek commerce, and is the same as Barygaza of the Greek navigators. Gandhāra is of course the region about Peshawar.

The Trans-Indus people. M.B. II, 47, 9-10. In this couplet a very crisp and to the point description of the states of Lāśbelā and Kalāt in southern Baluchistan is given. "And the Vairāmas, Pāradas and Vaṅgas (variant *Ābhīrāḥ*) with the Kitavas, they who lived on the crops that depended on the occasional rainfall or the rain, they who lived in the trans-Indus country and were born in the land of sea-shore gardens" brought to Yudhiṣṭhira presents which will be described later on.

Stein who explored the wilderness of Makrān in recent years¹²⁶ stands testimony to the truthfulness of the climatic conditions of the country as mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*. He explored Kalāt that once formed the

¹²⁴ *Rājataranginī*, III, 10; Stein, *Ib.*, Vol. II, p. 523.

¹²⁵ Cunningham, *Anc. Geo.*, p. 44.

¹²⁶ Stein, *An Archaeological tour in Gedrosia*, *Arch. Sur. of India*, Memoir No. 48, Calcutta, 1931.

part of ancient Gedrosia, now under the control of Baluchistān administration. It was the scene of Alexander's march through the torrid wastes of Gedrosia. The major part of the Kalāt State is occupied by the barren mountain ranges stretching from north-east to west in parallel arcs, and gradually decreasing in height; "The southernmost of them conveniently designated as Makrān coast range overlooks the desolate shores of the Arabian sea. There are scattered small settlements of fishing folks, supported here and there by little patches of precarious cultivation making their living in ways not essentially very different from the primitive Ikhtyophagoi, whom Alexander's troops met on their passage through these arid wastes. The valleys formed by the numerous torrents beds which break up this range offered nowhere chance for even semipermanent occupation except in Kulānch to the north of the road to Pasni where small villages carry on agriculture wholly dependent on the capricious rainfall of the coast."¹²⁷ To the north this coastal range is flanked by the long stretched valley of Kej river continued westward by the Nihing valley and to the north-east the open drainless basin of Kolwa, it forms the economic back-bone of Makrān. There are strings of oases along the banks of the Kej with feeds and date groves, irrigation is made by Kārēzes or subterraneous canals and by cuts (Kaur-jo) taking off from large pools in the river bed. These retain water, even after the rain floods from the mountains, always heavy but very uncertain.¹²⁸ The Dasht valley or the tract where the waters of Kej and Nihing find their way to meet the sea at the bay of Gwāṭar is important as wide stretches of alluvial soil are to be found on both sides of the river where it breaks through Gokprosh hill chain. Here the cultivation is carried out by rain water collected by embankment. The Central Makran range and

¹²⁷ Stein, of *Ib.*, p. 8.

¹²⁸ *Ib.*

Rakshashān Valley likewise offer a little place for cultivation.¹²⁹

Jhalawan contains the mountainous regions stretching from the north to the south which divides the lower Indus Valley from Khāran and Makrān. In the valleys dividing the ranges there gather rivers which all carry their drainage either into the sea like Hingol, Porali and Hab or else to Indus. But it is only at the time of rain-floods these rivers contain water along their whole course and these, too, only for very brief periods.¹³⁰

The climate is arid and the majority of the population leads a nomadic life. The springs and Kārēzes are more widely distributed than in Makrān, yet only less than one fourth of the total cultivated area receives irrigation. The rest is entirely dependent on the chance of adequate water being secured from the rare floods which in favourable years descend in the torrents and river beds are being caught by the poorly constructed embankments from the slopes above the fields.¹³¹ In Sarawan the physical features are akin to Jhalawan.

The State of Lāsbelā on the southern coast of Baluchistān is bounded on the north by the Jhalawan division of Kalāt State; on the south by the Arabian Sea; on the east by Kīrthār range, which separates it from Sindh and on the west by the Hālā offshoot of the Pab range. Its eastern part is mountainous, the centre consists of a triangular level plain with its base on the sea; on the west the State has a strip of coast stretching from port Ormāra. The Porāli carries a small permanent supply of water. The Hingol is another river which falls into the sea within the State limit. The coast line extends for about 250 miles and possesses two road-steads in Sonmiani and Ormāra.¹³² Its climate is like Makrān.

¹²⁹ *Ib.*, pp. 9-10.

¹³⁰ Stein, of *Ib.*, p. 12.

¹³¹ *Ib.*, p. 13.

¹³² *Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 144-45.

It was in such physical conditions that the races already mentioned inhabited.

The first tribe inhabiting these waste-lands were Vairāmakas (M.B., II, 47, 10) who are also mentioned in the *Mahāmāyūrī*¹³³ (48, 1). But beyond the fact that they were a trans-Indus people and that their home was in the land where the rainfall was very scanty (M.B. II, 47, 9) nothing is known about them in Indian literature. Fortunately enough in the identification of the Vairāmakas the Greek sources come to our help. For this we must get ourselves acquainted with Alexander's homeward march to Carmania through southern Baluchistān and his campaign against the country of Oroeitei (Arrian. *Anab.* VI, 21-22). On crossing the river Arabios Alexander marched throughout the night in a desert country, and then after being joined by the main body of the troops he penetrated the country further and came to the capital of the Oroeitei named Rambakia, which was the largest village in their domain, and as usual defeated the barbarians, and pleased with the situation of the village decided to colonise it and for that purpose left Hēphaistion behind. Now all the classical authors place the two barbarian races called Arabii or Arabitoe and Oroeitei, Oritoe, Oraitai, Horaitai as they are variously spelt to the west of the Indus. Arrian (*Indika*, 22) calls the country of Arabii as the last part of India towards the west and Strabo (XV, 21) calls it a part of India, but both exclude Oroeitei, though Curtius (*Vita. Alex.* IX, 10, 33) includes it in India. These Oroeitei, whose capital was Rambakia, have been identified by Holdich as the Hots of Makrān with their head-quarters at Tump, and by Mockler with the utii of the army of Xerxes.¹³⁴ The home of the Arabii is located on the river Arabios, the modern Porāli, which flows through the district of Las into the bay of Sonmiani,

¹³³ *J.A.*, II, 1915, p. 94.

¹³⁴ *Baluchistan Gaz.*, VII, 94.

50 miles from Karāchī.¹³⁵ Cunningham derives the name Oroeitei from the river Aghor¹³⁶ and Rāmbāgh on the Aghor river a place of Hindu pilgrimage with the association of Rama, with Rambakia, the capital of the Oroeitei in the time of Alexander. The western boundary of the Oroeitei is placed by Nearchus¹³⁷ at a place called Malana which Cunningham identifies with the bay of Malan, to the east of Rās Mālān of the present day. Holdich¹³⁸ locates the sight of the ancient Rambakia at Khairkot situated the north-west of Liari commanding the Hala pass. Whatever may be the exact position of Oroeitei in all probability they lived in that part of Baluchistān which is known as Lasbela State, perhaps between Porāli and Hingol.

Rambakia also lay on an important trade route. A route from the south of Kandhār passed through Rambakia and thence by road or river Porali to Oraea (in Sonmiani Bay), whence India could be reached by sea or through low mountains.¹³⁹ Leaving aside the previous identifications it seems probable that Rambakia is the Greek form of the Sanskrit Vairāmaka, a race living to the west of the Indus. The substantival form of the Vairāmaka must have been Virāma. The Greek spelling of the word simply resulted by the simple transposition of the initial *vi* in the Sanskrit spelling into the middle of the Greek spelling. In Sanskrit literature the Oroeitei seem to have been only known by the name of their capital which is quite correct in view of Pāṇini's *tadrāja* rule. The Oroeitei according to the *Cambridge History of India* were of the Dravidian stock.

¹³⁵ Cunningham, *loc. cit.*, pp. 349-50.

¹³⁶ *Ib.*, pp. 353-354.

¹³⁷ *Ib.*, 354-355.

¹³⁸ Holdich, *loc. cit.*, pp. 150-51.

¹³⁹ Warmington, *loc. cit.*, p. 24.

¹⁴⁰ *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 380.

Pārada. M.B., II, 47, 61, 10, 48, 12. The Pāradas are mentioned twice in the *Upāyanaparva*. Once they are placed to the west of the Indus (M.B., II, 47, 9) and the second time their connection with the Bāhlikas or Bactrians is indicated. They are also mentioned by the *Mahāmāyūrī*¹⁴¹ (95, 2), Varāhamihira (*Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, XIV, 21) places them with the Vokkāṇas and Rāmaṭhas among the peoples of the west. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* (IV, 44, 13) they are placed with the Yavanas and Śakas before the Bāhlikas. They are also mentioned in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (LVII, 37). In the *Harivamśa* (XIII, 763-64; XIV, 775-83) they are said to have been degraded by the king Sagara who made them wear long hair and that they were Mlecchas and *Dasyus* (*Ib.*, CXV, 6440-42). Manu (X, 43-44) says that they were Kṣatriyas who became degraded because of the extinction of sacred rite. Ptolemy's Paradēnē (VI, 21, 4) which signified all the interior country in Gedrosia could be equated with the Pāradas mentioned in the *Upāyanaparva* (M.B., II, 47, 9). Nearly all the trace of the Pāradas has however disappeared from Makrān. In the centre of Panjgur oasis however a little above Chitkān is situated the Pardān-damb, the remains of which proved to consist of three successive stone embankments solidly constructed of large unhewn. The name Pardān and its ancient archaeological remains may perhaps connect the place with the ancient Pāradas.¹⁴²

Their association with Bāhlikas or Bactrians shows (M.B., II, 48, 12) that here probably they could be identified with the Parthians, a Śaka tribe, the forerunners of the Saka migration of 130 B.C., who after nomadizing first in the plains south-east of Caspian, invaded and conquered Parthava, the modern Khurāsān (Herzfield, *The Archaeological History of Iran*, pp. 53-4). If the Pāra-

¹⁴¹ *J.A.* II, 1915, pp. 103-104.

¹⁴² Stein, *An Archaeological tour in Gedrosia*, p. 45.

das are the Parthians then their presence in Gedrosia could be explained by the long association of the country with the ancient Iran of Darius¹⁴³ (522—486 B.C.) and Xerxes (486—465).

Vaṅga (M.B., II, 47, 10). The variant readings are Tuṅgāśca and Ābhīrāh. At first it seems that Vangāśca, the reading taken as correct by the editors is wrong, and the correct reading should have been Ābhīrāh, as the Ābhīras living in the mountainous regions and subsisting on fish (M.B., II, 29, 9), the equivalent of the Greek Ichthyophagoi of the Makrān coast, are known. But on maturer consideration the reading Vaṅga seems to be right. In the seventh century according to Yuan Chwang¹⁴⁴ the Lang-Kie (ka)—Lo whose Sanskrit form Langar has been found by Julien and Lankar by Watters¹⁴⁵ lived on the Makrān coast. The country according to Yuan Chwang was very rich in precious substances, and naturally therefore its people brought jewels for presentation to Yudhiṣṭhira (M.B., 47, 10). Nothing is known about its precious wealth to-day for the country has never been surveyed for its possible mineral wealth. In the typical Meḍs who live between Gwāṭar and Sonmiani, there are Meḍs proper who are fishermen, the Koras seafaring men and a third section of unknown descent called Lānga.¹⁴⁶ The alteration of the initials in Lāng and Vaṅga, can be explained on the well known principle of Munda Khmer languages. As the initials Aṅga and Vaṅga were alternating in Eastern India, and Kēmboj and Semboj in Cambodia in French Indo-China and Java the same thing was happening on another extreme corner of India—the Makran coast. This could be explained on the basis of the existence of a substratum of Austric language in Bengal and also in as far a country as Makran.

¹⁴³ *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 334.

¹⁴⁴ Watters, II, pp. 257-58.

¹⁴⁵ *Ib.* p. 257.

¹⁴⁶ *Baluchistan Gaz.*, VII, p. 106.

Kitava (M.B. II. 47, 10). They seem to have been a very important tribe of Makrān, and if their identification with the Kej be correct, then their importance may be gauged by the fact that in the medieval period their name became a synonym for the whole of Makrān—Kej-Makrān. The Kej Valley lies between Kolwa and Mand and the valley of Buleda. This is the Kej Makrān of the Arab geographers. It is hemmed in all sides by high ridges. In the central portion there is a large irrigated area and but in the eastern and western portions dry cultivation is carried out.

Mockler (*J.A.S.B.*, 1895, pp. 30-36) has quoted a number of authorities, both Arab and Persian, to show that a people named Kufs or Kufij inhabited the mountains to the south of Kirman, to the south-east of which the low-lying country was inhabited by Baluchis. He has identified an aboriginal tribe in South Kirman who call themselves Kufish with the ancient Kufs of Bilādhuri, Tabari and Ibn-Haukal. It is yet to be decided whether Kofish, Kōfic, Kufij, Kūs, Kūj, or Koj, Kūi, Kec, Koc, Kij, Kej, Kiz, Kesh, Kash and Kush, the son of Ham, are similarly the variations of the same name or not (*Ib.* p. 35). To this list may also be added the Kitava of the Mahābhārata. Kitava or Kaitavya are invariably mentioned with the Ulūkas (M.B., I, 177, 20; 56, 23) who no doubt represented the Kulūtas or the people of modern Kulu Valley—the form Kulūta occurring in the *Sabhāparva* (II, 24, 4) in which the learned editor has noted the variants Ulūta, Ulūka, and Kaulūta. Here as well the change of the initial occurs on the well-known principles of the Munda-Khmer languages. Their companions the Kitavas or Kaitavyas therefore should represent the people of modern Suket. What relation they bore to the Kitavas of

¹⁴⁷ In the *Arthasāstra* (p. 101) however the honey as well as the juice extracted from the *...*

Makrān it is difficult to say, probably they represented the same ethnic group.

Their gifts to Yudhiṣṭhira (M.B. 41, 10-11) represented fully the products of the trans-Indus country. They brought goats and sheep (*ajāvīkam*), cattle and gold (*gohiranyam*), camels and asses (*kharoṣṭram*) wine manufactured from fruits (*phalajam madhu*), and the various kinds of jewels.

Camels and donkeys and sheep and goats are reared in Makrān which enjoys a considerable reputation as a camel breeding country. Camel breeding is passion with the Baluchis. Kulanch is one of the best breeding grounds in Makrān. Dasht is famous for its riding camels.¹⁴⁸ The Kharan camel has also a great reputation in Baluchistān. It is bigger than the Makrān camel and is particularly good over the rocky country. There are fewer varieties the best and the commonest being dastal which has its forelegs white from the foot to a little below the shoulder.¹⁴⁹

The wine from Makrān which came to Yudhiṣṭhira's court was manufactured from the fruits, probably from the dates,¹⁵⁰ though Panjgur grapes are famous and very cheap at the height of the season.¹⁵¹ The trans-Indus people also brought woollen blankets and shawls which probably included *namdas* or felt for which Kharan is famous.¹⁵² The rugs of Makrān however are of inferior quality.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁸ *Baluchistan Gaz.*, VII, pp. 181-2.

¹⁴⁹ *Ib.*, Vol. VII, A, pp. 99-101.

¹⁵⁰ *Ib.*, p. 165.

¹⁵¹ *Baluchistan Gaz.*, VII, p. 165.

¹⁵² *Ib.*, Vol. VIIA, p. 116.

¹⁵³ *Ib.* Vol. VII - 222

the Kamboja should be placed in Tadjekistan and the Pamirs only, and not in Badakshan as well.¹⁵⁶

Tryakṣa (M.B., II, 47, 15). Not much is known about the tribe. They are placed in the north-east foot of the Tortoise in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*¹⁵⁷ and are known there as Trinetras. But the arrangement of the countries with India taken in the shape of a tortoise is purely arbitrary. Is it upper Chitral called Turikho?¹⁵⁸

Lalātākṣa (M.B., II, 47, 15). Again the information is very meagre. Could it be Ladākh? Of course the identification is a pure suggestion and depends on Ladākh being the original name of the country, its Tibetan name being Mar-yul.

Auṣṇīṣa (M.B., II, 47, 15). The epithet without home (*anivāsān*) may suggest a wandering tribe. They cannot be identified.

Romaka (M.B., II, 47, 15). The editor has chosen Bāhukān. I however prefer the variant Romakān. Rumā was the name of the salt mines (Hemacandra, *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, 941) and may be identified with the Salt Range in the Panjāb. The Salt Range itself is named Oromenus by Pliny¹⁵⁹ who notes that the kings of the country derived greater revenue from the rock-salt than from either gold or pearls. H. H. Wilson identifies Rumā (*Sanskrit-Eng. Dictionary*) with the Sāmbhar lake. In this connection it is also interesting to note that the Shins of Baltistān also call themselves Roms.¹⁶⁰ Probably the Romakas here denote the people of the Salt Range.

Ekapāda (M.B., II, 47, 16). Again the information is meagre. Some indication about their provenance is

¹⁵⁶ *be*, two and *akṣa*, eyes.

¹⁵⁷ *Annals of the Bhandarkar Or. Re. Ins.*, Vol. XVII, 1935-36, Part IV, p. 337 (i).

¹⁵⁸ Biddulph, *The Tribes of Hindukush*, p. 60.

¹⁵⁹ *Hist. Nat.*, XXI, 39.

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found in the *Digvijayaparva*. In Sahadeva's expedition to the south the Ekapādas are mentioned (M.B., II, 28, 47) just after the Tāmradvīpa and Rāmaka mountains (M.B., II, 28, 46). Now this Tāmradvīpa could be located somewhere in Cambay on the strength of a reference in the *Pañca-dandachattra-Prabhandha*.¹⁶¹ The cities which Sahadeva conquered in association with the country of the Ekapādas are Śūrpāraka (M.B., II, 28, 43—45) the modern Soparā and Sañjayantī (M.B., II, 47) the modern Sanjān Gujarāt, Kach and Kāthiāwār. They are specified as living in the forest (*kevalānvanavāsinaḥ*) (M.B., II, 28, 47), which proves that they were probably the ancestors of the Bhīls of Gujarāt. Megasthenes tells us an interesting story about them.¹⁶² The Indian philosophers told him of the Okupedes, who in running could leave a horse behind. The Ekapādas, which literally means 'one legged' of which the exact Greek transcription is Okupedes, have been relegated to the realm of fiction, but there is nothing to suggest in the information available from the Mahābhārata that they were not a real people.

The above mentioned people presented to Yudhiṣṭhira gold and silver (M.B., II, 47, 16). But the Ekapādakas presented the fleet horses of multiple colours captured from the forests (*anekavarṇān āraṇyān grhītvāśvānmanojavān*), II, 47, 18). Apparently Kach bred as good horses in ancient times as to-day.

The Cīnas, Hūṇas, Śakas and Oḍras (M.B., II, 47, 19) are mentioned in a geographical order which has been discussed in a former section; below is given whatever information is available about them.

Cīnas, (M.B., II, 47, 19). Cīna in Indian literature seems rather to be an ethnic term, than a geographical designation. As the Chinese proper they appear in the *Sabhāparva* (II, 47, 19). They are also mentioned as

¹⁶¹ J. A., 1923, pp. 50-51.

¹⁶² Meg. Fragment, XXIX; Strabo XV, 15.

forming the retinue of Bhagadatta, the king of Assam (M.B., II, 23, 19), and here they could be taken as a people of Southern China or the Chins of Upper Burma. Manu says that formerly they were Kṣatriyas (X, 43, 44) who had lost caste.

Hūnas : (M.B., II, 47, 19). Here they are not to be confused with the later Hūnas of the Gupta age. They should be identified with the Hiung-nu who lived in Mongolia and who in 176 B.C. drove away the Ta Yüe-Chi from their country on the northern foot of Nan-Shan mountain.

Śakas : (M.B., II, 47, 19). In the *Aranyaka parva* (M.B., III, 186, 29-30) the Śakas with the Āndhras, Pulindas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Aurnikas, Śūdra-Ābhīras, are called Mlecchas, liars and false rulers. They are generally classed with the Pahlavas, Daradas, Kāmbojas, Ṛṣikas and the Paścima-anūpakas (M.B., V, 4, 15). They also appear in the company of the Pahlavas, Daradas, Kirātas and the Yavanas. (M.B., III, 48, 20). They are placed in the company of the Tukhāras and the Kaṅkas (M.B., II, 47, 26), the Śaundikas and the Kukkurās (M.B., II, 48, 15). The Śakas may be identified with the Sai-Wangs of the Chinese historians, and the Śaka-Murundas of Indian literature. Their movements have been described in a previous section.

Odra : (M.B., II, 47, 19). The country of the Odras in the north-west could be located in Swat or the ancient Uddiyāna.¹⁶³ Stein in his explorations of the Upper Swat discovered a fortress on the rugged hill range rising above the village of Uḍegram which is pleasantly situated at the foot of the hills at a point where the fertile and well irrigated riverine plain attains its widest in Upper Swat. The fortress is known among the local Pathāns as Rāja Gira's Castle. Stein's explorations yielded from the fortress walls and other signs of human habitation.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶³ Stein *Archaeological tour in Upper Swat and adjacent hills*, pp. 34-35, Mem. of the Arch. Sur. of India, No. 42.

Stein recognized in Uḍegrām the probable location of the Ora of Alexander's historians.¹⁶⁵ He advances tangible arguments to prove his identification.¹⁶⁶ "In Uḍegrām, a compound, in which the second part *grāma* 'village' is well recognizable, the first part Uḍe-(also heard as Uḍi-) is pronounced with that distinctly cerebral medial which to European ears always sounds like *r*, and often undergoes that change to *r* also in modern Indo-Aryan as well as in Dardic languages. The temptation is great to recognize in Arrian's ORA the Greek rendering of an earlier form of this name Uḍe-, and to derive the latter itself from that ancient name of Swāt which in its varying Sanskrit form Uḍḍiyāna, Oḍḍiyāna, has been recovered by Professor F. W. Thomas and M. Sylvain Lévi's critical scholarship from a number of Buddhist texts. The simplification of the double consonant *ḍḍ*, the complementary lengthening of the preceding vowel *ū* (*o*) which would explain the long initial vowel in O R A and the subsequent shortening of the vowel in modern Uḍe-(when becoming an ante-penultimate in the compound Uḍegram), all these can be fully accounted for by well known rules affecting the transition of Sanskrit words into Prākṛit and thence into modern Indo-Aryans. Nevertheless, it will be well to bear in mind that the nexus of names here described must remain conjectural until epigraphical or other evidence helps to establish it."¹⁶⁷ No epigraphical evidence has so far been available which could give us the ancient name of Swāt. But in the Mahabharata the name of this country Odra is found from which the Greek O R A could probably be derived. This Odra also appears in the Rāmāyaṇa (Bengali edition). M. Lévi discusses the other reading Paundra (western recension) and Paṇḍu (unpublished MSS in Paris and Germany) and

¹⁶⁵ Arrian, *Anab.* IV, 27.

¹⁶⁶ Stein, *An Archaeological tour in Upper Swat and adjacent hills*, p. 39.

¹⁶⁷ *Ib.*, pp. 40-41.

takes Puṇḍra as correct reading.¹⁶⁸ There is no use in changing the reading of the Bengali recension of the Rāmāyaṇa, as Oḍra also appears in the Mahābhārata as a place name in North-Western India. Oḍra therefore, according to the evidences at our disposal, was the ancient name of Swāt.¹⁶⁹

The Ods of Panjāb might have been emigrants from Swāt country in ancient times, though now they hail from Western India and Rajputānā to Panjāb. They are vagrants and are always in search of employment on earth-work. In the Salt Range they quarry and carry stone. They have speech of their own called Oḍki. They are outcastes. They wear woollen clothes or at least one woollen garment. Though Hindu they bury their dead. They are distributed pretty generally throughout the province, but are more numerous in Lahore and along the Lower Indus and Chenab, and least numerous in the hills, and sub-mountain districts.¹⁷⁰

Vṛṣṇi: (M.B., II, 47, 19). According to the ancient traditions the Vṛṣṇis should be situated somewhere in Kaṭhiāwār probably in the region of Dvārakā. But in the *Upāyanaparva* they are linked with the Hārahūras and the Haimavatas (*ib.*). It is interesting to note in this connection a coin of Rāja Vṛṣṇi published by Cunningham¹⁷¹ along with the coins of the Audumbaras without comment. This is a coin unique in every way. The obverse is a pillar mounted by an animal half-lion and half—elephant, above which is a Nandipada. The reverse is an elaborate wheel. The legend in Brāhmī on the obverse and Kharoṣṭhī on the reverse is the same on both the sides with slight dialectic differences. According to Mon. A. Bergny¹⁷² the legends read as follows:

¹⁶⁸ J. A., Jan. Feb. 1918, p. 126.

¹⁶⁹ For various reference to Uḍḍiyāna see, J. A., 1915, Jan.-Feb., pp. 105—110.

¹⁷⁰ Ibbetson, *The tribes & castes of Panjab and N.W.P.*, p. 318.

¹⁷¹ *Coins of ancient India*. n. 70 pl. IV 12

Brāhmī: -*Vṛṣṇ (-) r (ā) jajñāgaṇasya tratarasya*.

Kharoṣṭhī: *Vṛṣṇirajāṇṇa (ga)—tra*

Mr. Allan reads the inscription as *Vṛṣṇi-r(ā) jajñogaṇasya tratarasya*. His suggestion is that *rājāṇo* or *rājajñā* may be an engraver's mistake for *rājanyo*¹⁷³ in that case the legend means 'the protector of the tribe *Vṛṣṇirājanya*' or 'of the protector of *Rājanya* (or warrior) tribe of *Vṛṣṇis*. The coin belongs to the first century B.C. and presumably it may be assigned to northern Panjāb. It is very difficult to point out the location of the *Vṛṣṇi* tribe on the basis of a single coin which also shows that the republic at least in the first century B.C. was not such an important force. It is a well known fact that *Kukurās* were one of the members of the *Andhaka-Vṛṣṇi* confederation, and if the *Khokharain* in *Dasūya Tahsil* in *Hoshiārpur District* be the home of the ancient *Kukurās* then their confederate *Vṛṣṇis* should be located somewhere in *Hoshiārpur District* or near about. In this connection it is interesting to take note of a subsect of the *Vaiśyas* known as *Bārah-senī* which term according to the popular etymology means *bārah* 'twelve', and *sena* 'an army'. They are found chiefly in the western districts of U. P. They state that their original home was in *Agrohā*.¹⁷⁴ In the Panjāb they are found in *Gurgāon*. Curiously enough they are described by *Rose*¹⁷⁵ as descended from the *Chamārs* as their boys at the marriage ceremony wear a *Mukuṭa* of *dhāk* leaves into which a piece of leather is fixed. The modernised *Bārahsenī* youths write *Vārṣṇeya* after their names. Naturally our attention is drawn to the possibility of the *Barah-senīs* representing the ancient *Vṛṣṇis*. Their modern profession need not stand in the way of identification with the ancient *Vṛṣṇis*, a warrior

¹⁷³ Allan, *loc. cit.*, pp. clv—vii.

¹⁷⁴ Crookes, *The tribes and castes of the North-Western Province and Oudh*, Vol. I, p: 177.

¹⁷⁵ Rose, *loc. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 60.

class. As remarked by Dr. Jayaswal, it is a common phenomena in the career of Indian republics that when the republicans lost their political power they still retained their commercial intelligence and thereby turned into traders. As examples he has quoted the Khattris of Sindh and Panjāb and the Aroḍās who were the members of warrior class in ancient times, but turned traders after the loss of their political power.¹⁷⁶

Hārahūra: (M.B., II, 47, 19; III, 48, 21; *Śānti-parva*, 65, 2430). It is included among the countries of the West. Among the variants given is Hārahūra which is probably correct, as it is supported by other evidences. In the *Arthaśāstra* (p. 133) the grape wine called *madhu*, and its varieties *Kāpiśāyana* and *Hārahūra*, both expressing geographical denominations, are praised. Hemacandra (*Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi*, V, 1155) gives the synonyms for grapes as *drākṣā*, *mṛdvīkā* and *Hārahūrā*. In these synonyms *Gostanī* and *Hāra-hūrā* are toponymous. Grape is not an Indian fruit, and formerly it was sold in small boxes by the Afghān vendors from Kābul. When India was culturally connected with Khotan, the raisins of Khotan could be exported to the south of the Himālayas. The grapes of Khotan, specially of Boghazlangar near Kéria, are famous even to-day. According to Grenard the Turfan grapes are best in the world.¹⁷⁷ Likewise the word *Hārahūrā* classed as synonymous of *Gostanī* by Hemcandra and Halāyudha (II, 38) denotes the place of its origin. In the *Digvijayaparva* (M.B., II, 29, 11) the *Hārūrās* are taken as a western nation and are coupled with the Rāmaṭhas. Varāhamihira (*Br. Sam.* XIV, 33) places the *Hārahūra* country as contiguous with the country of the people of the Indus basin (*Sindhu-Sauvira*) and Madra. Now *Ramaṭha* with which *Hārahūra* is coupled also means in Sanskrit *asafoetida*, the product

¹⁷⁶ Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, Part I, p. 59, fn.

¹⁷⁷ Grenard, *Le Turkestan et le Tibet*, p. 176, in *Mission Scientifique* (Dutreuil de Rhins) dans la *Haut Asie*.

adopting the name of the country, and as asafoetida is produced in South Persia, Baluchistān, Afghānistān, Bokhāra and as far south as the Chenab Valley, the Ramaṭha country should be located somewhere in these regions. M. Lévi gives its situation between Ghazni and Wakhan,¹⁷⁸ though he has not adduced arguments in favour of this location. Yuan Chwang mentions asafoetida as a product of the Helmand Valley¹⁷⁹ which flowed through Tsau-ku-t'a or ancient Arachosia, but this country could not be Ramaṭha, as the original Sanskrit name of Arachosia was Jāguda,¹⁸⁰ which has also been mentioned with Ramaṭha in the *Mahābhārata* (III, 48 21). The Ramaṭha country therefore may be identified with Kharān District of Kalāt State, which grows asafoetida and is also contiguous with ancient Aria (Herat) and Arachosia (Kandhār). If these identifications be correct then Hārahūras may be located in Herat which produces grapes of the best quality. Herat is famous for its grapes. The fruit gardens of Herat, at least in the 10th century were famous. These gardens were situated at a day's journey on the route to Seistan.¹⁸¹ On three days' journey from Herat there was a city named Karūj also famous for its fruit gardens. The famous Kishmish vine was grown there, and the far famed raisins of Herat were the dried grapes of these gardens which were sent to Iraq and other places. There was yet another garden at Malin, a day's journey from Herat which produced grapes in very great quantities.¹⁸²

Now *hara* in the compound Hārahūra meaning mountain in ancient Iranian¹⁸³ (Old Persian, *ara*; Zend. *hara*, Pehlvi, *har*) may be expressive of the mountainous nature of the country. In the sculptures of Sargon's palace at

¹⁷⁸ *J. A.*, Jan.-Feb., 1918, p. 126.

¹⁷⁹ Watters, *loc. cit.*, p. 264.

¹⁸⁰ *Ib.*, Vol. II, p. 266.

¹⁸¹ Jaubert, *loc. cit.*, I, pp. 460-61.

¹⁸² *Ib.*, p. 462.

¹⁸³ *Ind. Ant.*, XVII. n. 114

Khorsabad, now in the Louvre Museum, certain Iranian cities are sculptured one of which is named as Harhār, which recalls modern Khalkhāl.¹⁸⁴ It was situated in the lake Urmiya region in the extreme north-west of Iran. Was the name of this city transferred at some later date to a city in west Afghānistān-Herat, Haraiva of the ancient Iranians and Aria of the classical authors? The origin of Herat must be traced from the ancient Iranian literature, before it could be finally identified with Hārahūra.

Haimavatas: M. B., II, 47, 19. They are called the bronzed Haimavatas (*kr̥ṣṇānhaimavatān*). Himavanta is quite a famous place in the Buddhist literature. Majjhima propagated Buddhism in the Himavantapadesa (*Mahāvamsa*, Chap. XII). It has been identified with some as Tibet; Fergusson identified it with Nepal. In the *Sāsanaṇavamsa* (p. 13) it is stated to be Cīnaraṭṭha. Prof. Rhys Davids places it in the Central Himālayas. Its extent (*Papañcasūdanī*, II, p. 6) is given as 3000 yojanas.¹⁸⁵ In the relic caskets from Sonāri and Sānchī the inscriptions of the 2nd century B. C. mention the Saint Kāsapagota who is described as *sava-Hemavatācariya*—the epithet which has been taken by scholars as a reference to the Buddhist saint being sent to the Himālayas (*Mahāvamsa*, p. XIX). But according to Majumdar quoting Kern¹⁸⁶ Haimavata was also a religious order of the Buddhists.¹⁸⁷ In the classical literature one of the spurs of Emodos, Imaus, meaning in the native language snowy¹⁸⁸ is mentioned. In a footnote McCrindle gives the variants of Emodos, as Emoda, Emodon and Hemodes. Lassen derived the name from Haimavata. If this be so

¹⁸⁴ Herzfeld, *Arch. History of Iran*, p. 14, Fig. 4.

¹⁸⁵ B. C. Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, p. 27, London, 1932.

¹⁸⁶ *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 111.

¹⁸⁷ *Sānchī*, Vol. I, p. 292.

¹⁸⁸ Meg. *Frag.* lvi., Pliny, *Nat. His.* VI, 21, 8—23, 11; MacGill, "The

Hemodos would be the correct form. Imaus represents the Sanskrit Himavata. The name was applied at first by the Greeks to the Hindukush, and the Himalāyas, but in the course of time transferred to Bolor Range. This chain, which runs north and south was regarded by the ancients as dividing northern Asia into Skythia extra Imaus and it has formed for ages the boundary between China and Turkestan.

The representatives of the countries mentioned above brought with them the products natural to their countries. The first item on the list is ten thousand black-necked heavily built donkeys (M. B., II, 47, 21) (*kr̥ṣṇa-grīvānmahākāyān*), which could cover a distance of hundred *krośas* (*śatapātinaḥ*) and whose breed was famous all over the world (*dikṣu viśrutān*) and who were also well trained (*vinītān*). That no stigma was attached to the donkeys in those days is shown by the fact that the maternal uncle of Bharata, at the time of the departure of his nephew to Ayodhyā presented to him fast going donkeys (*Rāmāyaṇa*, II, 70, 23, Bombay Ed.),

The second item on their list of presents consisted of fabrics manufactured in Vāhlika and Cīna (*vāhlicīna-samudbhavaṁ*) (M.B., II, 47, 22), which were of appropriate measurements, of good colours, and pleasant to touch (*pramāṇarāgasparśāḍhyam*). The fabrics made of wool (*aurṇam*), of the *raṅku* goat's hair (*rāṅkavam*) of silk (*kītajam*) and of fibre (*paṭṭajam*), all made their appearance in the presents. Here the adjective *rāṅkava* needs some explanation. The word *raṅku* is usually explained in the dictionaries as 'a deer' (*rāṅkavam mṛgaromajam*, *Amarakośa*, II, 6, 111). But the *raṅku* explained as a deer is not correct as no fine cloth was ever woven out of deer's wool. It should be identified with the Rang goat which flourishes in the steppes of the high Pamir plateau. It affords a very fine shawl-wool.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁹ Wood, *A Journey to the Source of the Orus*, New Ed., 1872, in the *Introductory Essay* by Yule—*The Geography and*

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From the *rañku* goat's wool *rāñkava kaṭa* or felts were also prepared (M.B., III, 225, 9). It should also be noted that the Indians in this period were also acquainted with the Chinese silk which came to India through Bactria. The appearance of Chinese silk even at such early period in the Indian market need not cause any surprise. A piece of Chinese silk with a trader's memorandum written on it in Brāhmī, which was discovered at a ruined watch-station on the old Chinese Limes, is a strong argument in favour of the view that traders from India coming for silk, had already reached the limes in the latter part of the first century B.C.¹⁹⁰

The third item on the list of presentations consisted of felts (*kuṭṭīkṛtam*) (M.B., II, 47, 23), thousands of lotus-coloured woollen garments (*kamalābham sahasraśah*), and other textile pieces of smooth texture not manufactured from cotton (*ślakṣṇam vastramakārpāsam*) which probably shows that they were made of wool or silk, lamb pelts (*āvīkam*) for which Eastern Afghānistan is famous even to-day and other soft skins. The high quality of the Chinese hides and furs were maintained even as late as the first century A.D. The *Periplus* says that the Chinese hides and furs were exported from Babricon¹⁹¹ on the Indus. Pliny¹⁹² says that the dyed skins obtained from the Chinese were most valuable of the coverings furnished by animals. In the opinion of Warmington they were partly of Indian and Tibetan and partly of Chinese origin.¹⁹³ The presents probably included as the adjective *kamalābhāih* implies the gaily coloured rugs of Upper Swāt. The *Mahāvanijajātaka* (Jāt. 493) (IV, 352, 1. 15) mentions among the articles of great value such as gold, silver, pearls, beryls, the cloths from Kāśī

¹⁹⁰ Sir A. Stein, *Asia Major*, Hirth Anniversary Volume, 1923, pp. 367—72.

¹⁹¹ Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, 39, 6.

¹⁹² Pliny, *Nat., His.*, XII, 31; XXXIV, 145.

¹⁹³ Warmington, *loc. cit.* nn. 157—159

and Uḍḍiyāna *kambala*. At Torwāl even to this day are produced all the closely woven and gaily but tastefully coloured woollen blankets that India knows as Swātī rugs. They are made by the womenfolk in the side valleys of Chilli-dara, which descends to Churrai from the high snowy peaks towards Kāna and Duber on the east and to some extent also in other small valleys of Torwāl.¹⁹⁴

In the fourth item of the list of presentations are included various weapons produced in the Aparānta country (M.B., II, 47, 24). Aparānta here should not be understood as Konkan country mentioned in the Nāsik inscription,¹⁹⁵ and in Jūnāgaḍh inscription of Rudradāman¹⁹⁶ which according to Bhagwanlal Indrajit could be identified with Sopārā in the Thānā District, the most important port of Aparānta.¹⁹⁷ Here Aparānta has the same geographical import as mentioned in Aśoka's inscriptions. In V Rock Edict at Girnār the Aparāntas are placed by the side of the Yonas, Kāmbojas, Gandhāras and the Rṣṭikas. These were the states outside the empire of Aśoka¹⁹⁸ and were counted as the north-western tribes. In the description of the Aparānta country given in the *Divyāvadāna* (p. 19, ll. 19—25) the products of Aparānta are generally felts and skins. In the same passage we are told that there were many tribal republics in the Aparānta country which goes very well with the identification of Aparānta country in Aśoka's inscription with the various tribes living in the north-western frontier of India. In the *Mahābhārata* (*Bhīṣmaparva*, IX, 355) a people of this name are mentioned. Aparānta also appears in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (LVII, 36) as the

¹⁹⁴ Stein, *On Alexander's track to the Indus*, Lond., 1929, p. 89.

¹⁹⁵ *Arch. Sur. of Western India*, IV, p. 109.

¹⁹⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LVII, p. 262.

¹⁹⁷ *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XV, p. 274, and note 3.

¹⁹⁸ *CII*, I, p. 10.

name of a people living on the western border. Cunningham was inclined to place them in northern Sind and part of western Rajputānā.¹⁹⁹

Now coming to the weapons of the Aparānta country they consisted of sharp and long swords, scimitars and short spears (*niśitānścaiva dīrghāsīnrṣṭīśaktiparaśvadhān*) and sharp edged battle-axes (*paraśūnśitān*). It is a well known fact that even today the tribal people of the North-West Frontier are expert black-smiths, and even with the most crude instruments at their disposal they are able to forge guns which are notable for their accuracy of construction. It seems they were equally famous in ancient times in the manufacture of good weapons.

In the fifth item on the list of presentations (M.B., II, 47, 25) thousand and one kinds of precious stones (*ratnāni ca sahasraśaḥ*), wines (*rasān*) and perfumes (*gandhān*) are included. In the absence of any detail we are unable to say what kinds of jewels are intended. But the mention of perfumes at once points to the musk, though it has not been specified. The musk-deer inhabits the Himālayas above 8000 ft. from Gilgit eastwards extending to Tibet, North-Western China and Siberia. There are three grades of musk, the most valued coming from China, the second grade from Assam and Nepal and the least-valued from Central Asia.²⁰⁰ Apparently the best Chinese musk is implied here.

In the *Mahābhārata* (II, 47, 26) the Śakas, Tukhāras and Kaṅkas as well as hairy (*lomaśāḥ*) and horned men (*śṛṅgiṇonarāḥ*) are mentioned. Much has been said about the Śakas and the Tukhāras previously and the information need not be repeated here.

Kaṅka (M.B., II, 47, 26). They may be identified with the Kang-kü of the Chinese historians. After escaping the captivity of the Hiung-nu Chang K'ien

¹⁹⁹ A.S.R., Vol. XIV, pp. 136-137.

²⁰⁰ Watts, *Dictionary of the Economic products of India*, S. V. Deer.

reached Ta Yüan who gave him safe conduct on postal roads to Kang Kü, and Kang Kü sent him on to Ta Yüe-Chi.²⁰¹ The Kang-Kü or Sogdhiana (Bokhara and Samarkand) is placed by Chang Kien to the north-west of Ta Yüan (Ferghana) at an approximate distance of two thousand *lis*. "It is also a country of nomads with manners and customs very much the same as those of Yüe Chi. They have eighty or ninety thousand archers. The country is co-terminus with Ta Yüan. It is small. In the south it is under the political influence of the Yüe-Chi; in the east under that of Hiung-nu."²⁰²

There is also a tribe of Jāts in the Panjāb called Kang. This tribe is chiefly located in the angle between the Beas and Satlaj, though they have crossed the latter river into Ambala and Ferozpur and are found in small numbers all along its banks and even on the Lower Indus. Their tradition is that they came from Garh Ghazni. The Kangs are said to claim descent from the Solar Rājpuṭs of Ayodhyā through their ancestor Jogra father of Kang.²⁰³ What exact connection they bear to the ancient Kaṅkas, a Scythian tribe, it is difficult to say. Perhaps, they migrated to India after the Śakas had established themselves there.

Lomaśāḥ Śrīngino narāḥ : (M.B., II, 47, 26). No fabulous beings are intended. Apparently they are some Śaka tribes in absolute state of barbarism wearing skins with the hair turned upwards and horned-head-dresses—a costume adopted by the Tibetan dancers even in present days. The primitive mode of living of Śaka tribes is impressed by Ptolemy (VI, 14).

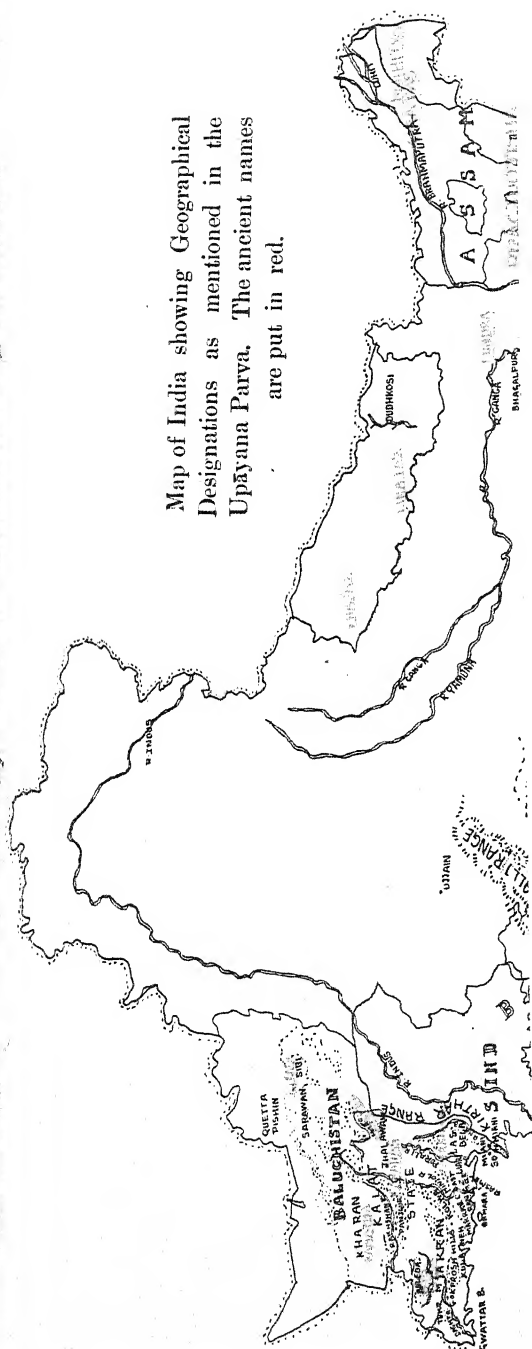
The Śakas, Tukhāras and Kaṅkas presented fast-going horses (*mahāgamān*) which could cover great distances (*dūragamān*). There are innumerable references to the superior quality of the horses bred in the north of the

²⁰¹ JAOS, 1917, p. 94.

²⁰² *Ib.*, p. 96.

²⁰³ Ibbetson, *loc. cit.*, p. 233.

Map of India showing Geographical
Designations as mentioned in the
Upāyana Parva. The ancient names
are put in red.



Oxus. Emperor Wu-ti of China wanted to possess Ferghana horses, the most famous being from the city of Ir-shi. The Emperor's request was however disregarded by Ta Yüan people. The ambassador who was sent to bring the horses was also killed. Incensed at this, the Emperor sent Likuang-li with the title Ir-Shi-Tsiang-Kün (General Ir-Shi) in 104 B.C. This campaign ended in failure. The second campaign was, however, successful and Yüan had to give the horses. The Chinese army took away several dozens of superior horses, besides more than three hundred stallions and mares of inferior quality.²⁰⁴ Burnes in his travels to Bukhara praises the horses of Turkestan and the countries north of the Hindukush. The Turkoman horse is a large and bony animal, but its lack of beauty is compensated by its strength and endurance. In Balkh the tradition was current that these horses had descended from Raksh, the famous horse of Rustam. A detailed description about their manners of rearing, prices, methods of training may be found in the chapter 'Horses of Turkestan,' in Burnes' work.²⁰⁵

The gifts brought by the kings of Eastern region of India: (M.B., II, 47, 28-30).

In the first category may be placed various kinds of furniture and carriages (M.B., II, 47, 28). There were valuable chairs (*āsanāni mahār-hāni*), sedan chairs (*yūnāni*) and beds (*śayanāni*) inlaid with jewels, gold and ivory (*maṇi-kāñcana-citrāni gajadantamayāni ca*).²⁰⁶ Then there were various kinds of chariots (M.B., II, 47, 29) (*rathāmśca vividhākārān*), furnished with gold fittings (*jātarūpapariṣkrtān*) and covered with tiger-skins (*caiyāghraparivāritān*), and

²⁰⁴ JAOS, 1917, pp. 111—113.

²⁰⁵ Burnes, *Travels into Bukhara*, Vol. II, pp. 271—277, Lond. 1834.

²⁰⁶ *Jātaka*, Vol. V, p. 302, *Gāthā*, 37; VI, p. 223, G. 964. The ivory inlays in the royal chariots are mentioned even by *Jātakas*.

yoked with well trained horses.²⁰⁷ In the second category of gifts are mentioned the *nārāca* and the *ardha-nārāca* arrows and many varieties of weapons, variegated elephant coverings (*vicitrāmśca paristomān*), innumerable kinds of precious stones (M.B., II, 47, 30) whose names however are not enumerated. By the foregoing details it is easy to form an idea of the high craftsmanship of the artisans of the eastern U.P., Bihār and Orissā so often alluded to in the Buddhist literature. Ivory which has been mentioned as an inlay of the furniture and the carriages was exported to Rome for ornament and decoration from the earliest times, and in the historical times Indian and African ivory satisfied the Roman demand. The region about Dorsarene (Orissa) produced the best ivory.²⁰⁸

UPAYANAPARVAN (CHAPTER 48)

The tribes described in the M.B., II, 48, 2-3 lived on the river Śailodā (M.B., II, 48, 2) which is represented as flowing between the Mt. Meru and Mandara. The *kīcaka* bamboos growing on her banks as poetically expressed afforded shelter to those tribes. The location of Śailodā is of great importance for the identification of various tribes living on its banks. It is also mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (*Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa* XLIV, 75—79). Śailodā or Śailodakā according to the *Matsya Purāṇa* (CXX, 19—13) rises at Mt. Aruṇa which is situated to the west of Kailāśa, and which flows into the Western Sea. In the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (LV, 3) Śītodā (Śailodā) is placed on the west of the Mt. Meru. The situation of Meru-Mandara is however uncertain. Pargiter has placed Śailodā in western Tibet (*Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p. 351). The bearing however takes us to the north and to the Karakorum or Mustagh skirting to the north of which is the Chinese Turkestan. At the point

²⁰⁷ *Jataka*, V, p. 259, Gāthas 49—50. It is interesting to note that even in the *Jataka* stories the chariots with tiger-skins are mentioned.

²⁰⁸ Warmington, *loc. cit.*, p. 164.

where Shyok River descends to the south, facing it towards the north the Raskam or Yarkand flows through the same mountain. The Yarkand River which is also called Zarafshan and which is called Sito²⁰⁹ by the Chinese, flows closely at the northern foot of the Karakoram dividing it from the Kun-lun mountains. To the east of Yarkand River is Tibet and to the west Pamirs. Perhaps, though one can never be sure this Si-to represents the Śailodā of the *Mahābhārata*. If our identification be correct than Meru becomes Karakoram and Mandara the Kun-lun ranges.

Khaśa : (M.B., 48, 3.) The Khaśas are well known to the student of Sanskrit literature. In Nepal the Gurkhas are designated as Khasa and their language is Khasa or Parbatiyā. In the south and west of Kashmir the hill regions are occupied by Khaśas. Their settlement extended as shown by numerous passages of the *Rājataranginī* in a wide semi-circle from Kaṣṭawār in south-east to the Vitastā Valley in the west. The hill states of Rājapuri and Lohāra were held by the Khasa families. The Khasas are identical with the present Khakha tribe to which most of the petty chief in the Vitastā Valley below Kashmīr and in the neighbouring hills belong.²¹⁰ According to M. Sylvain Lévi²¹¹ Khasa or Khaśa does not indicate any particular tribe, but a number of semi-Hinduised tribes inhabiting the Himālayas. But in Central Asia the name has a special significance. The *Lalitavistara* mentions Khaśa writing which was in vogue between the countries of Dardistān and China on the upper course of the Indus, and the

²⁰⁹ According to Cosmos, the Sītā is the modern Jaxartes (JASB, 1839, p. 282). It rises in the plateau south of Issyk-kul lake in the Thatan-Shan. Jaxartes is also called Sir-Daria, and Sir is evidently a corruption of Sītā according to Dey. Sītā is also identified with the river Yarkand or Zarafshan. They, however, prefer Sītā's identification with Jaxartes (Nundo Lal Dey, *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, p. 187, 2nd ed. Lond., 1927).

²¹⁰ Stein, *Rājataranginī*, tr. Vol. II, p. 430.

²¹¹ BEFEO, Vol. IV, p. 556.

frontiers of China proper. Jñānagupta who translated the life of Buddha between 589—618 glosses the word Khasa with Chou-le, *i.e.*, Kashgar. In the Tang period the equivalence of Khasa and Chou-le is uniformly admitted.²¹² Khasa in the *Upāyanaparva* are qualified by the adjective *ekāsana* (variant *ekāsana*) which probably means that they were settled as opposed to other wandering tribes.

Jyoha: (M.B., II, 48, 3.) Nothing is known about the Jyohas who were equally well settled in the same region as Khasas. However it is interesting to note that a large *pargana* in Almora Tahsil with its northern boundary as Tibet is named Johar and is chiefly inhabited by the Bhotias.²¹³ Nothing is known about the origin of the name Johar, perhaps it was from very early times occupied by the migrating Jyohas who gave their name to the Tahsil, but this cannot be said with any certainty in the absence of other proofs.

Dīrghaveṇu: (M.B., II, 48, 3.) The Dīrghaveṇus as opposed to the Khasas and Jyohas lived in a dispersed condition as the adjective *pradarāḥ* suggests. Perhaps they were a wandering tribe. Nothing further is known about them.

Paśupa: M.B., II, 48, 3. They were possibly a wandering tribe of herdsman, akin to the modern Kirghiz.

Kuṇinda: (M.B., II, 48, 3.) Apparently they were a very widely diffused tribe as they are also mentioned in the Tarai forests near Haradwār (M.B., III, 141, 25) where they lived in hundreds of groups (*Kuṇindā-śata-saṃkulam*). Apparently the forest country of Subāhu abounding in elephants and horses was a veritable haven of the aboriginal tribes because here rubbing shoulders with the Kuṇindas also lived Kirātas and the Tangaṇas (*ib.* III, 141, 25). The Kuṇindas, also Kulindas are referred to several times in the epics and the Purāṇas

²¹² *ib.*, p. 557, also see J. A., Jan.-Feb., 1915, p. 102.

²¹³ *Almora District Gaz.*, p. 249.

(*Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, Pargiter, p. 316). In Arjuna's expedition to the north the first power which he met and defeated (M.B., 23, 13-14) were the Kuṇḍas. Vāgbhaṭṭa in his *Kāvyaṇuśāsana*, which is copied by Hemcandra (*Kāvyaṇuśāsana*, 127) gives the name of a mountain as Kalindendra (*Himālaya-Jalandhara-Kalindendra-Kila . . . parvatāḥ*). It is curious to note that the form given by Ptolemy (VII, 1, 42) Kulindri (nē), presents the same alteration between Kuṇḍa and Kulinda. He places the Kulindrinē above the source of Beas, Satlaj and Yamunā and the Gangā. *Brhatsamhitā* (XIV) gives variations of the same name. Kern has adopted the reading Kauṇḍra in preference to Kaulinda and Kaulindra. In the newly edited *parvans* of the *Mahābhārata* from the Bhandarkar Institute, Poona, though the editors have adopted Kuṇḍa as the correct text Kulinda as a variant has always been noted down (M.B., II, 23, 13; 48, 3; III, 141, 25). At another place in the *Digvijayaparva* (M.B., II, 23, 14) the alteration between Kulinda and Pulinda are noted. Kulinda, Pulinda—an ethnic pair, are differentiated by the initial K and P. This process is unknown to Indo-European or Dravidian but a characteristic of Austric languages.²¹⁴

Pulindas are mentioned in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VII, 18) as a class outside the influence of the Aryans and placed with the Āndhras, Puṇḍras, Śabaras and Mūtibas. They are also found in the Rock Edict XIII of Aśoka as a people on the frontier. Pulindas occupied the middle portion of the Deccan (*Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, (VII, 47), where apparently they had a city named Pulindanagara which was conquered by Bhīma (M.B., II, 26, 4). Their kingdom was situated in the massif of the Vindhya (*Brhatkathā Ślokaśaṃgraha*, IV, 22). In the Buddhist literature they were considered as low people (*nīcakuḷa*), barbarous (*mleccha*) and a frontier tribe (*pratyanta-janapada*) (*Mahāvvyutpatti*, 188,

²¹⁴ S. Lévi, J.A., 1923, p. 30.

15). In the *Arthāśāstra* (3rd Ed., p. 45) the Pulindas with Vāgurikas (trappers), Śabarās, Cāṇḍālas and other wild tribes were expected to keep watch over the state. Ptolemy (VII, 1, 64) describes the Poulandai by the epithet *agriphogai* "those who lived on wild fruits". Their location is well defined. They lived in the interior of Lāṭa, in Bharukaccha, in Ujjain and the source of Godawarī, i.e., on the high land of Satpura, Vindhya and Aravalli.

There is as yet another alteration of Kulinda-Pulinda in Bhūlinga. Pliny (VI, 20) names the latter as Bolingae among the people living far from Indus. Ptolemy (VII, 1, 69) places the Bolingai to the east of the Vindhya on the right bank of the Son River. Pāṇini's gaṇapāṭha takes notice of Bhaulingī several times (II, 4, 59; IV, 1, 41; IV, 1, 173). They formed one of the components of the śālva federation (*Candravṛtti*, II, 4, 103). Śālvas according to Pargiter (*Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p. 349) lived in the neighbourhood of Kuru and Trigarta at the western foot of the Aravallis.

So far we have studied the Kuṇinda (Kulinda), Pulinda, and Bhulinga trimuvarate who belonged to the same ethnic stock. The Kuṇindas, however, have left us coins. On these coins only the form Kuṇinda appears. Their coins may be divided into two groups one about the first century B.C. and the second three centuries later. The first variety bears the legend *rājñah (raña) Kuṇindasa* or (*syā*) *Amoghabhūtiśa*; the second type gives the title Siva only. The Kuṇinda coins have been found in the district Hoshiarpur, Ludhiana and Jwālamukhī in the Panjab, and Saharanpur in the United Provinces. The distribution of these coins shows that the Kuṇindas occupied a narrow strip of land at the foot of the Siwālik Hills between the Jamuna and the Satlaj and the territory between the upper courses of the Beas and the Satlaj.

²¹⁵ Allan, *A catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum*, p. cl., London, 1936.

Taṅgaṇa : (M.B., II, 48, 3.) The Taṅgaṇas are mentioned with the Kirāṭas and Kuṇindas as inhabiting the Tarai region in the kingdom of Subāhu (M.B., III, 141, 24-25) in the mid-Himālayas. They are mentioned at another place (M.B., III, 48, 21) as a western people and linked with the Jāguda, Ramathā, Strīrājaya and Muṇḍa. In the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (LVII, 41) they are named as Tuṅgaṇas, though the *Vāyupurāṇa* (XLV, 120) knows them as Taṅgaṇas. Like other hill tribes they fought with stones and were skilled in slinging stones (*Dronaparva*, CXXI, 4835-47). Ptolemy (VII, 11, 13) speaks of the domain of the G (T) angnoi as lying over along the Ganges on its eastern side and further to the north and through whose domain flowed the river Sarabos. The reading has been changed to Tanganoi by St. Martin (*Etudes* . . . pp. 327-328), and this correction is probably based on the authority of the *Mahābhārata* mentioning the Tangaṇas in the mid-Himālayan region. They perhaps occupied the regions along the eastern bank of the Upper Ganges. Their territory probably stretched from the Ramgāṅgā River to the Upper Saryu which is the Sarabos of Ptolemy. Their situation cannot be precisely defined in this region, as none of their cities Sapalos, Heorta and Rhappa has been identified. But there cannot be any doubt that the Tangas also occupied the Kāshgar area in Central Asia if our identification of the Sailoda River is correct. The Tungans of Central Asia came to limelight when their rebellion in Sin-Kiang Province of China was suppressed by the Chinese Government. It seems that they are the descendants of the ancient Taṅgaṇas mentioned in this area.

Parataṅgaṇa : (M.B., II, 48, 3.) It seems that ethnically the Parataṅgaṇas or Further-Taṅgaṇas were connected with the Taṅgaṇas. Some very pertinent clues about their location are found in the *Anabasis* of Arrian (IV, 22). After capturing the rock of Choriene Alexander went himself to Bactria, but despatched Krateros

with 600 of the companion cavalry, and a force of infantry consisting of his own brigade and that of Polyperchon and Attalos and that of Alketas against Katanês and Austanes the only chief left in the country of Paraitakenai, the other forms of the name Paraitakai is also noted (Arrian III, 19; Strabo, XVI, 836). In a footnote²¹⁶ McCrindle explains that the country of Paraitakenai was located in a part of the mountainous country between the upper course of the Oxus and the Jaxartes. *Parai* in Paraitakenai as a Greek effort to pronounce the Sanskrit *parvata* is not convincing. The people are clearly the Parataṅganas of the Mahābhārata. It is interesting to note that a tribe of the same name occupied a part of Media (Herodotus, I, 10). The lower Helmand Valley was also known as Paraitakene before it became Sacastene.²¹⁷ Kippert's 'Asia' identifies Karategin with Paraitakenai though Yule is not sure of the identification.²¹⁸ Henry Yule proved that the great silk route to China from the Oxus to the Alai which passed through the valley of Komedai through which ascent towards Imaos is said to have led—could be no other than Karategin, the valley of Surkhab. The Kara tegin and the Surkhab Valley and its eastern continuation, the triangle of the Alai offer in fact the easiest line of communication from the Oxus to the Tarim basin.²¹⁹ Kara tegin is inhabited by the people of Turkish stock since early times, though they were being slowly ousted out by the Tajiks from Darwāz and from tracts to the west when Stein visited them.²²⁰

Pipīlika gold: (M.B., II, 48, 4.) The Khasās, Jyohas, Dīrghaveṇus, Paśupās, Kuṇindas, Taṅgaṇās and

²¹⁶ McCrindle, *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, p. 57.

²¹⁷ Tarn, *loc. cit.*, p. 95.

²¹⁸ J. Wood, *loc. cit.*, pp. LXX-LXXI.

²¹⁹ Stein, *On the Ancient Central Asian Tracks*, p. 293, Lond., 1933.

²²⁰ *Ib.*, 327.

the Parataṅgaṇas (M.B., III, 48, 3) presented to Yudhiṣṭhira heaps of *pipīlika* gold measured by *dronas* (jars)—the gold which was presented (*varadattam*) to them by the Pipīlikas. Another variant *uddhritam yat* may mean that the gold was dug from the earth by the Pipīlikas. The mention of *pipīlika* gold at once brings the recollection of the ant-gold of the Greeks, Romans, Turks and Arabs, etc. Herodotus (III, 102—105) says that the gold-digging ants belonged to Kashmīr and Afghānistān. Megasthenes (*Fragment*, XXXIX) places them on the eastern border of Derdai or the Darada country. Strabo (XV, 1, 44) and Pliny (VI, 22; XI, 36), mention the Daradas despoiling gold from ants; Aelian (*de Nat. An.*, III, 4) makes the river Kampylinus the limit of the ant country. *Pipīlika* gold has been defined as Tibetan gold. The gold district in Tibetan history was known as Sarthol, and Thok Jalung, Rudok, Thok Nianmo and Thok Sarlung, etc., the chief gold producing centres are situated in the same district.²²¹ One view holds that probably the Tibetan gold miners could be identified with the gold ants. According to Herodotus (III, 102—105) the ant-gold country was a desert; Strabo (XV, 1, 44) makes them live on mountain plateaus. This is true of the country where gold is mined in Tibet. It is only in fact in the country north-east of the branch of Indus called Singh-gi-Khamba that the gold fields mentioned above are found. And in this respect Singh-gi-Khamba reminds the way in which the river Kampylinus is mentioned by Aelian (*de Nat. An.*, III, 4).

The Tibetan mines are situated at 16,330 ft., and as the cold is intense the miner at Thok-Jalung wear fur. They not only work underground, but their small black tents made of a felt-like material manufactured from the hair of the Yak are set in a series of pits, seven or eight feet below the ground surface with steps leading down into them. Megasthenes (Strabo XV, 1) mentions that

²²¹*Ind. Ant.*, IV, pp. 232—235.

the ants excavated the earth in winter which they heaped at the mouth of the pits like moles. The same statement is repeated in Pliny (XI, 36). It is a remarkable fact observed at Thok-Jalung that in spite of the severity of cold and snowy blizzards the miners preferred to work in winter as the frozen soil then stands well.²²² The Tibetans often wear Yak-skin with the horns intact,²²³ this explains the presence of ants born in the temple of Hercules at Erythrae (Pliny XI, 36).

It has also been suggested that the name of ant-gold arose from a confusion of the name of a Mongolian tribe with the Mongolian word for ant-*Shirai-ghol* and *Shirgol*.²²⁴ The name 'ant-gold' came with the gold and the name is known to the Mongolian and Tibetan sagas, and that it was the Siberian gold.²²⁵ According to Tarn²²⁶ the name of the ant-gold was derived from the folk-tales in which the ant-king and his subjects to help the hero collect for him a mass of little grains of something he cannot collect himself and in support of his argument he quotes two ant stories.²²⁷ This mythical name was given by the middleman to conceal the true origin of gold. His strong opinion²²⁸ that the Indians did not know gold mining is however entirely unwarranted by facts, as the *Arthaśāstra* (pp. 89, ff) not only mentions the various sources of gold, but prescribes elaborate formulas for its refinement.

It is difficult to say whether the ant-gold came from Tibet or Siberia, as the argument on both sides are quite strong. The gold measured by jars (M. B., II, 48, 4) however proves that it was in the form of dust and not

²²² *Ind. Ant.*, IV, p. 230.

²²³ *Ib.*, p. 231.

²²⁴ B. Laufer, *Die Sage von der goldgrabenden Ameisen*, *T'oung Pao*, XX, 1908, p. 451.

²²⁵ *Ib.*, p. 429.

²²⁶ Tarn, *loc. cit.*, p. 107.

²²⁷ Francke, *Asia Major*, I, 1924, p. 67.

²²⁸ Tarn, *loc. cit.*, p. 108.

bars. It also proves that it was probably obtained from the river washings or from the pits dug in the soil containing gold dust. In any case the Khasās and other tribes seem to have been the middlemen in selling the gold to India.

The other mountain tribes, besides Khasās etc., brought black and white Yak tails (M.B., II, 48, 5).²²⁹ Mirza Muhammad Haidar in his *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī* (16th century) while describing Tibet says that the Tibetan traders along with other merchandise consisting of Chinese goods, musk, borax, porcelain, gold and shawls, also brought Yak-tails²³⁰ (*qūṭās*).

Those mountaineers (*pārvateyāḥ*) (M.B., II, 48, 7) also brought honey (*ksaudra*) obtained from the Himālayan flowers which was very tasteful (*bahu svādu*) (M.B., II, 48, 5) and the garland made of Ambu flowers (a kind of Andropogon) from the Uttara Kuru country (*Ib.*, 48, 6) and the powerful herbs from the north of Kailāsa.

The Uttara Kurus who play a somewhat mythical part in the Mahābhārata and later literature, are still a historical people in the Vedic period. In the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VIII, 141) they are located beyond the Himālayas (*pareṇa Himavantam*). Zimmer places the Uttara Kurus in the Northern Kashmir the view with which Keith and Macdonell agree.²³¹ In the *Bhīṣmaparva* (VII, 1-14) the Uttara Kuru country is said to be inhabited by the Siddhas. The trees bear sweet fruits and are always laden with fragrant flowers. They also yield milk, food, clothes and ornaments. The ground is covered with precious stones and golden sand. All the seasons are charming. The tanks are always brimming with the

²²⁹ Ind. Ant. XXXI, pp. 443-444.

²³⁰ Raverty, *Tibbat three hundred years ago*, JASB, 1985, p. 9.

²³¹ *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, p. 84.

The Caurī made from the Yak tail was one of the five emblems of the royalty (*rāja kakudāni*) the other being sword, umbrella crown and shoes.

crystal-clear water. The men and women are of pure birth and exceedingly handsome. They are free from diseases and live for eleven thousand years. The Uttara Kurus are also mentioned by the Greek historians (Meg. Frag. XXIX; Strabo, XV, 1, 57). Ptolemy (VI, 16 2 and 5) seems to have believed in its actual existence. The description of the Uttra Kuru country, 'the Paradise on Earth' perhaps created the Hyperboreans of the Greeks. It is difficult, however, to point out the location of the Uttara Kurus, even if they were historical, as their idealistic situation created by mythology has wiped out their historicity.

Kirātas: (M.B., II, 48, 8). The word Kirāta is connected with the name Kirāti, Kirati and Kirānti which imply a native of Kirantdes on the mountainous country lying between Dudkosi and Karkī rivers in Nepal. The term includes the Khambu, Limbu, and Yakhā tribes, and the Danuār, Hayu and Thami also claim to be Kiranti.²³² It is perhaps this section of the Kirātas, whom Bhīma conquered, basing his operations from the Videha country or the modern Tirhut division, of Bihār (M.B., II, 26, 13). A very interesting description of the Kirātas and their territories is given in the *Upāyanparva* (M. B., II, 48, 8). They are mentioned as living on the northern slopes of the Himālayas (*ye parārdhe himavataḥ*) from where the sun rises (*sūryodaya girau*); they lived by the side of Vāriṣa bordering on the sea coast (*vāriṣeṇa samudrānte*) and who were also supposed to be the Lauhityas (*Lauhityamabhitaśca ye*). From the above description it is clear that the members of the kirāta tribe lived on the slopes of the Himalayas in the north, this abode of theirs being also mentioned in the *Āraṇyaparva* (III, 141, 25). In the second instance they are represented as living in a mountainous region in Eastern India; they are the Kirātas of Nepal. In the third instance they are shown living in the Vāriṣa region border-

²³² Risley, *Castes and Tribes of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 490.

ing on sea. Vāriṣa could probably be identified with the modern Bārisāl, a sub-division of Backergunje District in Eastern Bengal. It is situated on the south-east corner of Bengal with an area of 1,110 miles and is a tract intersected by numerous rivers and water-channels. It is not far from the sea board.²³³ In the fourth instance they are represented living on the Lohita *i.e.*, that the modern Brahmaputra in Bengal and Assam. A better description of the distribution of Tibeto-Burman race it would be difficult to find in the works of a modern ethnologist.

The Kirātas are represented as wearing skins (*carmavāsasaḥ*) (M. B., II, 48, 8), they lived on the tubers and fruits (*phalamūlāsanā*); the *Rāmāyaṇa* represents them (*Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa*, XI, 30) as wearing thick topknots.

The Kirāta's presents to Yudhiṣṭhira fully represented the products of their country. They brought skins, precious stones and gold (*carmaratna-suvarṇānām*) (M.B., II, 48, 9)—the gold which was picked from the mountains (*nīcitam parvatebhūnahśca*) (Ib., II, 48, 11)—the sandal-wood, aloewood, loads of zeodary (*candanāguru kāṣṭhānām bhārān kālīnakasya ca*) (Ib., II, 48, 9), and heaps of aromatics (*gandhānāmcaiva rāśayaḥ*). Assam was the home of aromatic woods as pointed out by the *Arthāśāstra*, and this fact is fully supported by the Mahābhārata.²³⁴ The gold and the precious stones must have come from Lower Burma, the Khryse Khora or 'Golden land' of Ptolemy identified with the hinterland of the Lower Burma.²³⁵

The Kirātas brought the slave girls of their own race (*Kairātikānām dasīnām*) (M.B., II, 48, 10) and the birds and animals from the far-off lands (*dūrajā mṛgapakṣīṇaḥ*) to serve as pets—an Indian form of amusement mentioned in the Jātakas²³⁶ as well.

²³³ *Imp. Gaz.*, VII, p. 19.

²³⁴ Moti Chandra, *Cosmetics and Coiffeur in Ancient India*, *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, 1940, pp. 83-88.

²³⁵ Gerini, *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia*, pp. 64-65.

²³⁶ *Jātaka*, I, pp. 140; 175; II, p. 132; III, p. 97, 490 etc.

Kāyavya: M.B., II, 48, 12. The variant Kāvakhya is also noted. The Kāyavyas or more correctly the Kāvakhyas were probably the race who gave Khāwak Pass its name. Probably the race inhabited the Panjshir and Ghorband valleys which pass edging the foot of the Hindu-kush and take us right to the Khāwak pass towards the east.

Darada: M.B., II, 48, 12. They are the people of modern Dardistān a term which was coined first by Leitner.²³⁷ In Dardistan he includes all the country lying between Hindukush and Kaghan. Leitner not only included in the term the Daradas, the race inhabiting the mountainous country of Shinaki, but also Chilasis, Astorias, Hunza and Nagar people, Chitralis and the Kaffirs. In ancient Sanskrit literature, however, the term seems to have been restricted, as the names of the countries of the Chitralis, Kaffirs, Hunza are mentioned separately. The term was restricted probably to the Darad speaking people—the Shīna speaking people of Gilgit, Gurez, Chilas and the Indus and Swāt Kohistan.²³⁸ According to Biddulph²³⁹ the word Darad has originated from Persian *dūed* 'a beast of prey or from *darīndah* fierce'. The name may have come to be used as an ethnological term in the same way as *dahyu* 'a robber' gave its name to Dahistān and Dahae tribe and as Kaffir, Cossack and Kirghiz are now applied to different Asiatic tribes. The term Darad is not known in Chitral.

In the *Mahābhārata* (*Dronaparva*, CXXI, 4835—37 and 4846-7) the Darads are mentioned as a hill people the neighbours of the Kāsmīras (*Ib.*, LXX, 2435) and of the Kāmbojas (M.B., II, 24, 22); they fought with stones and were skilled in slinging stones (*Dronaparava*, CXXI, 4835—47). According to Manu (X, 43-44) they had lost their

²³⁷ *The languages and races of Dardistan*. Part II, pp. 45-48 Lahore, 1877.

²³⁸ *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. VIII, Part II, p. 3.

²³⁹ Biddulph. *Loc. cit.*, p. 157.

Kṣatriya caste due to the extinction of sacred rites. Like Pāradas and others, they were condemned as Mlecchas (Harivamśa CXV, 6440—42). The proximity of the Daradas and Kāmbojas as mentioned above may also be seen in certain common customs, even to-day. A curious custom in this respect is recorded by Biddulph.²⁴⁰ This ceremony is called *Kobah* and takes place on the arrival of a visitor in the person of some chief. He is conducted to the *Shawaran* or guest-house after which a bull is produced before the guest, who draws the sword and tries his best to cut its head off at a single blow or deposes one of his followers to do so; afterwards the carcass is given away to his retinue. The custom exists in Shighnān, Badakshān, Wakhān, Chitral, Yāsin, Gilgit, Hunza and Nagar.

Dārva : (M.B., II, 48, 12). The Dārva country has been identified²⁴¹ with the district of Jammu and Ballāvar (Ballāpur) between the Chenab and Rāvi.

Śūra : (M.B., II, 48, 12). They may be identified with the famous Sūr tribe, whose worthy member Sher Shāh played such an important part in the mediaeval history of India. Perhaps in early days the Sūrs lived in the Ghor country. After being dispossessed of their land, they became the wandering tribe in the land of Aimāks.

Vaiyāmaka : (M.B., II, 48, 12). They could be easily identified with the Aimāks of central Afghānistān. The Aimāks are the descendants of the ancient conquerors of Paropamisus and speak Persian. The Hazāras, one of their constituents speak Turkish and are probably the descendants of the Mongols settled in Afghānistān by Chinghiz Khān. They are semi-nomads, good soldiers and distinguished specially as cavalymen. They use camel-wool tents and Ferrier was surprised to see the great number of camels which they reared and which were kept specially for wool. The mineral riches of the

²⁴⁰ Biddulph, *loc. cit.*, p. 75.

²⁴¹ Jayacandra, *Bharatbhumi aur uske nivāsī*, p. 146.

district are gold, silver, iron, lead, sulphur, rubies and emeralds.²⁴²

The four tribes which make up the Chāhār Aimāk are Jamshedis, Hazarās, Firozkohīs, and Taimanis. The land where they live, around Herat, is made up of a huge tableland, or uplift which is deeply eroded by centuries of river action.²⁴³

Audumbara: (M.B., II, 48, 12). The coins of the Audumbaras have been found and may be divided in three classes; a series of square copper coins bearing the name of the republic, a few rare silver pieces and a group of round copper billon pieces. The square copper coins are the earliest and very well known from the Irippal hoard, found at Irippal in Kāngra District.²⁴⁴ The type was already known from Cunningnam's excavation at Pathānkot.²⁴⁵ The name of four kings namely Śivadāsa, Rudradāsa, Mahādeva, and Dharaghoṣa are available. One of the coins of Dharaghoṣa bears the effigy of Viśpamitra (Viśvāmitra). Viśvāmitra's connection with the Audumbaras is otherwise unknown.²⁴⁶

On the bases of the finds of Audumbaras coins at Jwalāmukhī, Pathānkot, Irippal and Hoshiarpur the Audumbaras should be located in the area formed by the eastern part of the modern Kāngrā district, that is to say the valley of Beas, or perhaps the wider region between the upper Satlaj and Rāvi.²⁴⁷

It is impossible to be precise in what period the Audumbaras entered in the realm of history though they are mentioned in the *Gaṇapāṭha* of Pāṇini (IV, 2, 53) near the Jālandharāyaṇas. In the *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins Jīvaka is represented as taking a journey

²⁴² J. P. Ferrier, *Caravan journeys and wandering in Persia, Afghānistān etc.*, pp. 51-53. Edin., 1856.

²⁴³ Holdisch, *loc. cit.*, pp. 214-215.

²⁴⁴ *J.A.S.B.*, XXIII, p. 247 ff.

²⁴⁵ Allan, *loc. cit.*, p. lxxxiii.

²⁴⁶ *Ib.*, p. lxxxiv.

²⁴⁷ *Ib.*, p. lxxxvii.

from Taxila to Bhadrāmkara, Udumbara, Rohitaka and Mathurā.²⁴⁸ The Udumbaras were established on the ancient highway which passing through Śākala, Agrodaka, and Rohitaka carried the trade of the Gangetic valley to Taxila.²⁴⁹

The material prosperity of the Audumbaras which is proved by the abundant find of their coins may be attributed to their advantageous position on the highway from Magadha to Kashmīr. Besides they were conveniently situated at the point where several Himālayan valleys opened out. On account of their geographical position therefore the Audumbaras became the intermediaries between the people of the mountains and the plains. Even to this day Pathānkoṭ being the railway terminus joins the commercial routes from Chambā, Nūrpur and Kāngrā.

The local industries also helped towards the prosperity of the Audumbara country. The cloth manufactured therein was sold in the markets of Śākalā when Menender was reigning (*Kāsika-Koṭumbarakādi nānāvidhavatthāpaṇa-sampannam*, *Milindapañha*, ed. by Treckner, p. 2). It is also mentioned in the *Jātakas*.²⁵⁰ The commentator glosses the last passage *Koṭumbarānīti Koṭumbara-ratṭhe Utthitavatthāni*. In the *Saddharmapundarīka* (pp. 82, verse 87), Kern gives the reading of a word expressive of certain variety of cloth *Koccairabaka-hamsalakṣaṇair* translated as 'choice carpets showing the images of cranes and swans'. On consulting the variant readings Przyluski²⁵¹ has proposed to restore the reading *Koṭambakair haṃsalakṣaṇair* 'the Koṭambaka cloth ornamented with the figures of geese.'

M. Przyluski after producing various evidences philological, phonetical and ethnographical has reached the

²⁴⁸ Przyluski, *J. A.* 1921, p. 3.

²⁴⁹ *Ib.*, pp. 17-18.

²⁵⁰ Fausböll, *Jātakas*, VI. no 547, verse 117; VI p. 47, verse 166.

²⁵¹ *J.A.*, 1926, p. 23.

conclusion that Koṭumbara and Odumbara are the same—the alterations of the initials being due to the words belonging to Austric family of languages.²⁵² His conclusions are amply supported by the variants given in the *Sabhā-parva* published by the Bhandarkar Research Institute (II. 48, 12). Here the variants of *Audumbarāḥ* are *Auḍumbarā*, *Auḍambarā* and *Kuṭumbarā*. This is a further proof that the initials in Odumbara and Koṭumbara alternated on the well known principal of Munda-Khmer languages.

The adjective *durvibhāgāḥ* (M.B., II, 48, 12) qualifying *Audumbarāḥ* needs some explanation. *Durvibhāga* taken in the sense of disunited may point to the Audumbara connections with the Sālva federation of which the Udumbaras, with the Tilakhalas, Madrakāras, Yugandharas, Bhūlingas and Śaradaṇḍas were a member (*Candrarvṛtti*, II, 4, 103). Or may it indicate their being a component of the Odeonbares (Nat. His. V, 17) who lived in Kach? Only more information about the history of the Audumbaras could solve this problem.

Vāhlika: (M.B., II, 48, 12). They are mentioned as one of the Northern peoples. Śalya (M.B., I, 61, 6) is mentioned as *Vāhlika-puṅgava*; there is another eponymous Vāhlika king (*Ib.*, 61, 25) mentioned. The Vāhlikas are connected with the Daradas (*Bhīṣmaparva*, CXVIII, 5484) and other ultra-Panjāb tribes (*Dronaparvan*, CXXI, 4818). According to Pargiter there were two Vāhlika tribes one situated in the plains of Panjab along side Madradeśa or possibly south of it, *i.e.*, between the Chenab and Satlaj, and another among the lower slopes of the Himālayas between the Chenab and Beas. The name Vāhlika seems to have been altered in later times to Bāhika seemingly by a punning resemblance to *Vahis* "outside" because they were shut out by the Sarasvatī, Kurukṣetra and other natural features from the Madhyadeśa which

²⁵² *Ib.*, pp. 28-48.

remained true to Brāhmaṇas, and they and all the tribes beyond were stigmatised as impure by the Brāhmaṇas (*Kaṇva-parva*, XLIV, 2026; *A.S.R.*, Vol. II, pp. 6, 14, 17, 195, etc.). Properly speaking however the Vāhlika country, the modern Balkh in northern Afghānistān represents the ancient Vāhlika for a long time governed by the Greeks. Starting from the regions north of Hindū-kush the Graeco-Bactrian empire extended first towards the east over central Asia and the Kābul region, then over the North-Western Provinces of India and the Panjāb, later it became dispossessed of its northern parts, became confined to its Indian dominions and finally disappeared in the 1st century B.C.

Balkh was the traditional home of Zoroastrianism and its other name was Zariaspa (Eratosthenes, Strabo XI, 514) which may represent its great fire temple Azar-i-asp.²⁵³ Strabo (I, 516) says that it stood on both sides of the river Bactrus, the united streams of the Band-i-Amīr and Darrah which then reached Oxus; it is possible that the second name Zariaspa was the name of one definite part of Bactria. Ptolemy (VI, II. 1—9) calls it Bactrianē. According to Strabo (VII. 50) it was the principal part of Ariana and separated from Sogdiana on the east and north-east by Oxus, from Aria on the south by the chain of Paropanisus, and on the west from Margiana by a desert region.

Kāsmīra : (M.B., II, 48, 13). The modern Kashmir State.

Kundamāna : (M.B., II, 48, 13). This country seems to be the same as Kuṭṭāparānta or Kundāparānta.²⁵⁴ The Kundamāna country may be identified with Kuṭhār a *pargana* of Kashmīr. The valley of the Arapatha or Harṣa which opens to the east of Islāmābād forms the *pargana* of Kuṭhār. Stein thought that the

²⁵³ Cunningham, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1868. p. 107.

²⁵⁴ M. Williams, *Sans. Eng. Dict.*, p. 288 and M.B., VI, 356, Cal. ed. 1836.

name could be probably derived from the ancient *virtha* of Kapāṭeśvara situated on the southern side of the valley close to the village of Kōṭhēr whose name has been derived from Kapoteśvara.²⁵⁵ It is possible that the name Kuṭ (hār) has been derived from Kunda (māna), as Kundamāna has been linked with the Kāśmiras (M.B., II, 48, 13).

Pauraka : (M.B., II, 48, 13). The Paurakās are linked with Hamsakāyanas. Their country may be identified with the Yāsin country in the Chitrāl Agency as the people of both Yāsin and Chitrāl are sometimes called by their eastern neighbours as Poré and their country Poriaki, from *pūr* 'the west'.²⁵⁶

The variant Ghorakāḥ is also given; this reading may also be correct. The Ghorakās may be identified with the Goruaia of Ptolemy (VII, 1, 42) which must have been the province between the Gouraios (lower Swāt river) and the Kunar, the modern Bajaur.²⁵⁷ Berthelot would derive the name from Ptolemy's town Gorva, the Gorys of Strabo (XV, 697) which he places on the Kunar. Tarn however does not agree with this view as Strabo's description here is obscure and it is impossible to be sure of the Choaspes' identification with Kunar.²⁵⁸ Goruaia was a Greek Province in the 2nd century B.C. in Menender's (165 B.C.—died between 150—145 B.C.) occupation.²⁵⁹

Hamsakāyana : M.B., II, 48, 13. The Hamsakāyana people are linked with the Paurakās, the people of Yāsin and there should be no difficulty in identifying the country of the Hamsakāyanas with Hunza and Nagar. They are mentioned in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (LVII, 41) as Hamsamārgas 'the Duck-fowlers'. They are mentioned in

²⁵⁵ Stein, *Rājataranginī*, Vol. II, p. 467.

²⁵⁶ Biddulph, *loc. cit.*, p. 56.

²⁵⁷ Tarn, *loc. cit.*, p. 237.

²⁵⁸ *Ib.*, *loc. cit.*, p. 237, fn. 2.

²⁵⁹ *Ib.*, p. 226.

the *Bhīṣma-parva* list (IX, 377) and seem to ^{from Hoshiārpur} Hamsapādas (*Dronaparva*, XX, 798).

The two small Chiefships of Hunza and Nag ^{at a high} in the extreme north-west of Kashmir, on the banks ^{the} the Hunza river. Towards the north they extend into mountain range which adjoins the junction of the Hindū-kush and Muẓtāgh ranges; in the south they border on Gilgit; on the west Hunza is separated from Ashkuman and Yāsin by a range of mountains; while the Muẓtāgh range divides Nagar from Bāltistān on the east ²⁶⁰

Śibi: (M.B., II, 48, 13.) An Asura king named Druma who is called a descendant of Diti ruled over the Śibis (M.B., I, 61, 8). Vārāhamihira (*Br. Saṃ.*, XVI, 26) places the Śibis in the north with the Mālavas and the people of Takṣaśilā, and the Ārjunāyanas and Yaudheyas (Ib. XVII, 19). Sibipur is mentioned in the Sherkot Inscription of the year 83 (403 A.D.). The mound of Sherkot marks the site of the capital of the Śibis. According to Curtius (IX, 41) they were not far from the confluences of Jehlum and Chenab, a fact also supported by Diodorus (XVII, 96). This agrees very well with the position of Sherkot. They are mentioned by the Greek historians as clad in skins and armed with clubs. This fact gave rise to the origin of the legends that the Śibis were descended from Herakles. The extent of their country in ancient times might have been equivalent to the district of Jhang in Southern Panjāb.

The coins of the Śibis bear the legend *Majhimikāya Śibi-janapadasa*, 'of the tribe of the Śibis of Madhyamikā.' The coins were exclusively obtained from Nagari, Chittor. Dr. Bhandarkar excavated them from the Hāthibādā site at Nagari. ²⁶²

The country of the Śibis was famous for its shawls and the *Siveyyaka dussa* is praised in the *Mahāvagga*

²⁶⁰ *Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. XIII, p. 225.

²⁶¹ *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, pp. 15-17.

²⁶² *A.S.R.* 1915-16 Part I p. 15

name could be put. It is also mentioned in the Sivi Jātaka²⁶³ of Kapātesvarīng of Kosala is said to have presented one close to the with a cloth-piece from Sivi costing hundred from sand pieces of money.

Trigartta : (M.B., II, 48, 13.) The ancient Trigartta country was located between Rāvi and Satlaj with its centre round Jalandhar. It represented modern Kāngrā in ancient days. In the 7th century its dimensions, 167 miles from east to west and 133 miles from north to south, show that at that time it must have included Chambā on the north, with Mandī and Suket on the east, and Śatadru on the south-east.²⁶⁴

Yaudheya : (M.B., 48, 12.) The limit of the Yaudheya country may be determined by the findspots of their coins. The coins have been found plentifully in the country to the west of Jamuna, also to the west of Satlaj in Depalpur, Satgarha, Ajudhan, Kahrar, and Multān and to the eastward in Bhatner, Abhor, Sirsa, Hānsī, Pānīpat and Sonpat. The evidences of findspots show that the Yaudheyas occupied an area which may be roughly described as the Eastern Panjāb.²⁶⁵

In Junagadh inscription of Rudradāman (150 A.D.) the Yaudheyas are described as 'who would not submit because they were proud of their title of heroes among Kṣatriyas'.²⁶⁶ They are identified with the modern Johiyas who occupy the banks of Satlaj along Bahāwalpur State.²⁶⁷

Rājanya : (M.B., II, 48, 13.) The existence of the tribal republic of the Rājanyas is proved by their coins. There are two varieties of coins, one with Brāhmī and the other with Kharoṣṭhī legends, those with Kharoṣṭhī legends belong to 2nd century B.C., and those with Brāhmī to first

²⁶³ Jātaka, Vol. IV, p. 401.

²⁶⁴ Cunningham, *Ancient Geography*, p. 157.

²⁶⁵ Allan, *loc. cit.*, p. cli.

²⁶⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, pp. 47.

²⁶⁷ *A.S.R.*, XIV, p. 140.

century B.C.²⁶⁸ Most of the coins came from Hoshiārpur and the Rājanya country may be located there.

Madra : (M.B., II, 48, 13.) The Madras held a high position among the Vedic people.²⁶⁹ We find that the sages of Northern India repaired to Madra country to receive instruction in Vedic learning. In the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* (III, 7, 1) Uddālaka Āruṇi told Yājñyāvalkyā, "We dwelt among Madras in the house of Patañcala Kāpya, studying the sacrifice." In the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VIII, 14, 3) a section of the Madra people, Uttara Madra, are mentioned. They lived beyond the Himālayas close to the Uttarakuras. Uttara Madra is located²⁷⁰ in Kashmir.

The capital of the Madras was at Śākala²⁷¹ which has been identified with modern Sialkot. The Madras play an important role in the *Mahābhārata*, and their chief Śalya, though fighting on the side of the Kurus, had his sympathies towards the Pāṇḍavas. He had promised Yudhiṣṭhira to belittle and discourage Karṇa in the thick of the fight (M. B., V, 8, 28). He kept to his promise which extorted from Karṇa the wholesale condemnation of the Madra people already mentioned. Incidentally the morals of the Madras seem to have fallen off considerably since the Vedic days.

As mentioned in the *Candrarvṛtti* (II, 4, 103) Madras or Madrakāras were one of the components of the great Śālva federation. Incidentally the word Madrakāra probably indicates the Iranian element in Śālva confederacy as Madrakāra in ancient Iranian denotes a warrior.²⁷² The head of the Madras Śalya (M.B., I, 61, 6) is spoken off as a Vāhlika with probable connection with the Bactrians of northern Afghānistān, who were of Iranian origin. It

²⁶⁸ Allan, *loc. cit.*, p. cxxiii.

²⁶⁹ *Vedic Index*, II, p. 123.

²⁷⁰ Zimmer, *Altindische leben*, p. 102.

²⁷¹ *Jātaka*, ed. Fausböll, IV, p. 230, I, 20; V, p. 283, I, 26; *Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā*, II, p. 116.

²⁷² Pryzluski, *J.A.*, April-June, 1929, p. 313.

is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (I, 27; V 4695 etc., quoted by M. Pryzluski) that Vyūṣitāśva from his spouse Bhadrā Kāksivati had seven children, three Sālva and four Madra. The word Vyūṣitāśva also seems to be of Iranian origin and may be the Sanskritised form of Viśtāspa, the father of Darius.²⁷³ The Iranian origin of the Bhadrā, Madra, and Malla may also be explained from the many names of the capital of the Madras. The well-known is Śākala or derived from Śaka. The name was current during Alexander's times and hence the first Saka invasion perhaps predated the Macedonian conquest.²⁷⁴

The same city is called Bhadrapur and Bhadrāṅkara or the capital city of the Bhadrakāras. Bhadrāsaila mentioned in the *Mahāmāyūri*²⁷⁵ is placed by M. Sylvain Lévi in Taxila but Pryzluski rejects this location and places it in Bhadrapura and Śākala.²⁷⁶

Even the costumes and personal equipments of the Madras were quite out of the ordinary which a contemporary Indian was accustomed to see. In the *Udyogaparva* (8, 3-4) the Madra warriors are represented using strange outlandish armours (*vicitra kavacāḥ*), strange banners and bows (*vicitradhvaja-kārmukāḥ*); their ornaments were strange (*vicitrā bharaṇāḥ*) and so were their chariots and other conveyances (*vicitra rathavāhanāḥ*). Their costumes and ornaments are described as befitting to the country from where they came (*svadeśaveśābharaṇāḥ*). Perhaps their equipment was akin to those of the Iranians or Bactrians.

So far we have met three components of the Sālva confederacy-Audumbaras, Madrakāras and Bhuliṅgas. In this connection one is tempted to determine the location of Sālva country itself. In the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* (I, 2, 9) the Sālvās are coupled with the Matsyas. Sālva is the name of a people mentioned in a passage in the *Śatapatha*

²⁷³ *Ib.*, p. 315.

²⁷⁴ *Ib.*, p. 316.

²⁷⁵ *J.A.*, Jan.-Feb. 1915, p. 74.

²⁷⁶ *J.A.*, April-June 1926, p. 316.

Brāhmaṇa (X, 4, 1, 10) which records a boast by Śyāparṇa Śāyakāyana that if a certain rite of his were completed his race would have been the nobles, the Brāhmins and peasants of the Sālvas, and even as it were his race would surpass Sālvas. This people are mentioned in the *Mantrapāṭha* (II, 11, 12) as Sālviḥ, where they are said to have declared that their king was Yaugandhari when they stayed their chariots on the banks of Yamunā. There is later evidence to indicate that the Sālvas were closely connected with the Kuru Pañcālas, that apparently some of them, at least, were victorious near the banks of Yamunā.²⁷⁷ It is interesting to note the early connection of the Sālvas and the Yaugandharas as later on the Yaugandharas formed a component of the Sālva confederacy. The Sālvas are mentioned thrice in Pāṇini: Sālva (IV, 2, 135), Salvāvayava (IV, 1, 173) and Sālveya (IV, 1, 169). Sālva (Pāṇini, IV, 3, 166; *Vārttika* 2; Patañjali, V, 50) means the fruit of Sālva plant; this perhaps shows the totemic origin of the Sālvas. In the *Mahābhārata* (III, 13, 29) the Sālva King is called *Saubhapatih* and *Saubharād* (Ib., 17, 32); the capital of king Sālva is called *Saubha* (*Sālvasya-nagaram Saubham*, M. B., III, 15, 2) and the people as Saubha (M.B. III, 13, 29). It may be that Sopiethes of the Greek historians whose original form Sobhūta, or Saubha has been restored by M. Lévi,²⁷⁸ was probably a Sālva King. Among the names mentioned in the *ganapāṭha* on Saṃkala (Pāṇini, IV, 11, 75) Subhūta (No. II) is given which by the virtue of the rule gives Saubhūta the name of a people. The prince of the country was named after the name of his kingdom and therefore Sophytes or Sopiethes King of the country of Saubhūta. The *Mahābhārata* makes it clear that besides Subhūta, there was another form Subha, and that Saubha an epithet of King Sālva was derived from the latter. Another point which also becomes clear is that Saubha or

²⁷⁷ *Vedic Index*, Vol. II, p. 440.

²⁷⁸ *J.A.*, Series VIII, Vol. XV, pp. 237-39.

Sopiethes of the Greek historians was a Sālva and that the Audumbars, Tilakhilas, Śaradaṇḍas, Yaugandharas and Bhulingas the components of the Sālva confederacy, were probably under the influence of Sopiethes or Saubha country. The theory of M. Pryzluski that as the Sālva confederation had Madras, and Audumbaras, an aboriginal tribe, Sālva is another name for Ksudraka-Mālava confederacy on the basis of the equivalence of Madra with Mālava and Kṣudraka or small which according to him indicated the lesser status of an aboriginal partner, does not appear to be correct.²⁷⁹

Now let us examine at some length the information about Sopiethes gained from the Greek sources. (Arrian, *Anab.* VI, 11; Didorus XVII, 91-92; Curtius, IX, 1; McCrindle, *The invasion...* pp. 219-221). They place the dominion of Sopiethes between the upper Rāvi and the Hyphasis (Beas), but in the account of Arrian²⁸⁰ it is transferred to a more western position. Strabo was unable to decide where that kingdom lay. "Some writers place Kathaia and the country of Sopiethes one of the monarchs between the rivers Hydaspes and Akesines, some on the other side of Akesines and Hyarotis on the confines of the territory of the other Poros, the nephew of Poros who was taken prisoner by Alexander and call the country subject to him Gandaris. It is said that in the territory of Sopiethes there is a mountain composed of fossil salt sufficient to whole of India. Valuable mines, also, both of gold and silver are situated it is said, not far off among other mountains, according to the testimony of Gorgos the miner.²⁸¹ Curtius that the government of the dominions of Sopiethes was good. He mentions a curious custom by which deformed children were put to death.²⁸² He also describes the tall and handsome person-

²⁷⁹ *J.A.*, April-June 1929, p. 314; see also *J.A.* 1926, pp. 9-1.

²⁸⁰ McCrindle, *loc. cit.*, p. 133.

²⁸¹ McCrindle, *loc. cit.*, p. 133, *fn.* 2.

²⁸² *Ib.*, *loc. cit.*, p. 219.

ality of the king and mentions the noble breed of dogs which the country possessed and how they could kill even lions.²⁸³ Diodorus mentions the cities that were subject to the sway of Sopiethes, and the salutary laws and the praiseworthy political system of the country. Beauty was held among them in high estimation. They selected their brides for their looks. He also mentions the breed of dogs.²⁸⁴

Now let us examine the positions of the components of Sālva confederacy and show what light they throw on the location of the Saubha or the Sālva country. The Audumbaras may be located in Pathānkot region. Yaugandhara which is also called a gateway to Kuruksetra (*dvāra-metaddhi Kaunteya Kuruksetrasya Bhārata*, M.B., III, 129, 9) may be identified either with the Jhind State, or the southern Panjab States lying to the north-west of Delhi. The position of Tilakhala is un-determined. Bhulinga (*Rāmāyaṇa* Bengali ed. II, 70, 15) fell in the way of the messengers sent by Vasiṣṭha to bring back Bharata from the Kekaya country, after they had crossed the river Sarasvatī and the river Śaradaṇḍā, and although the city cannot be identified their country perhaps lay on the upper courses of the Beas and Satlaj. Madrakāras of course lived in the district of Sialkot. The country of Śaradaṇḍas may be identified with the district of Sirhind, and included a considerable portion of hill states to the west and south of Simla, together with Sirhind proper and Ludhiana in the plains.²⁸⁵

Now where were the Sālvas located? Cunningham places their capital at Bhīrā to the west of Jhelum.²⁸⁶ This seems to be improbable as all the Greek historians seem to place it to the east of Jhelum. The Sālvas according to Pargiter (*Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p. 349) lived in the neighbourhood of the Kurus and Trigartas on the western

²⁸³ *Ib.*, p. 220.

²⁸⁴ *Ib.*, pp. 277-81.

²⁸⁵ Cunningham, *Anc. Geo.*, p. 169.

²⁸⁶ *Ib.*, p. 178.

foot of the Aravalli hills. This could be true in the Vedic period as already mentioned when the Sālvas are coupled with the Matsyas, but in comparatively latter historical times they seem to have moved further north if the Mahābhārata and other Greek sources are to be believed. The latest view places Sangala, the capital of Kāthas, the neighbour of Saubhūtas²⁸⁷ in Gurudaspur district (Lahore Division), and if this conjecture be correct that the Saubha country may be placed near Amritsar. If beauty be the distinguishing feature of the Saubhas as mentioned by the Greek writers then inhabitants of Amritsar division could easily claim to be the descendants of the ancient Saubhas.

Kekaya : (M.B., II, 48, 13.) The Kekeyans are linked with the Madras. Their country has been identified with the present district of Shāhpur and Jhelum in Panjab. Cunningham (*A.S.R.*, II, p. 14) identifies Girzak on the Jhelum with Girivrja (the ancient name of Jalālpur) the ancient capital of the Kekayans. This agrees with the reference to Girivraja in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (*Ayodhyākāṇḍa*, IXX, 16, 19. Bengal ed.). It is interesting to note that among the gifts which Bharata received from his maternal uncle at the time of his departure to Ayodhyā there were dogs bred in the palace (*antaḥpure-tisamvṛddhān*) comparable to lions in strength (*vyāghra-vīryabalopamān*) and possessed of strong teeth and big bodies (*damṣṭrāyuktān mahākāyān*, *Rāmāyaṇa*, II, 70, 20. Bombay ed.). This reminds us of the gifts of dogs to Alexander by Sopiethes who is also called the king of the Salt Range.²⁸⁸ The possibility is that the Kekayan country

²⁸⁷ *Imp. Gaz.*, XII, p. 395.

²⁸⁸ The Romans supplemented their breeds of dogs by importation of Indian and Tibetan hounds. According to Herodotus (I, 1. 92) the Persians of his time kept four large villages in the plains of Babylon to feed Indian dogs. Ktesias (Merrindle, *Ktesias*, I, 9) also notices the Indian hounds of the Persians and similar dogs were shown in the procession of Ptolemy Philadelphos. We have also a papyrus of the 3rd century B.C., in which there are two separate epitaph poems written by Zenon in honour of the Indian hunting hound Tauron who had saved his life in a fight with a wild boar. (Warmington, *loc. cit.*, p. 149.)

²⁸⁹ Ed. by Dr. Thomas, p. 21.

conterminous with that of the Madras was also within the political influence of the ancient Sālvās.

Ambaṣṭha : (M.B., II, 48, 14.) They are very ancient people and Ambaṣṭhya, a king of the Ambaṣṭhas has been mentioned in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VIII, 21). Arrian (VI, 15) designates them as Abastanoi, and Diodorus (XVII, 102) calls them Sambastai. The *Bārhaspatya Arthaśāstra*²⁸⁹ mentions them with the Kāśmīras, Hūṇas and Sindhus. *The Dialogues of the Buddha* (Part I, p. 109) states an Ambaṣṭha to be a Brāhmaṇa. It is evident from the Greek sources that they were settled on the lower Chenab.²⁹⁰

Tārksya : (M.B. II, 48, 14.) Tārksya in the *R̥gveda* (1, 89, 6; X, 178) is mentioned as a divine steed, apparently the sun conceived as a horse. But Foy, judging by the name, apparently a patronymic of Trkṣi, who is known from the *R̥gveda* onwards as a descendant of Trasadasyu, thinks that a real steed, the property of Trkṣi, is meant, but Keith and Macdonell do not seem to agree with this view.²⁹¹ In Khila (II, 4) Tārksya is represented as a bird. In the *Vājasaneyī Samhitā* (XV, 8) he is mentioned with Ariṣṭanemi, originally an epithet of his (R.V.I., 89, 6; X, 178, 1), as a person, and in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XIII, 4, 3, 13) he appears as a Vaipaśyata the king of birds.²⁹² Tārksya in the *Mahābhārata* (I, 59, 39) is identified with Garuḍa. With Ariṣṭanemi, Garuḍa, Aruṇa and Āruṇi, he is described as the offspring of Kaśyapa and Vinitā.

In the *Agastīya Ratnaparīkṣā*²⁹³ Tārksya is mentioned as a synonym of emerald. It is interesting to note that Hemcandra in the *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* (V. 1064) gives among the synonyms of emerald *garutmanta* the other being *marakata*, *aśmagarbha*, and *haridmaṇi*. This con-

²⁸⁹ McCrindle, *loc. cit.*, p. fn. 2.

²⁹¹ *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, p. 308.

²⁹² *Ib.*, p. 308, fn. 5.

²⁹³ Finot, *Les lapidaires Indiens*, p. 188.

²⁹⁴ *Ib.*, p. XLIV.

nection between Garuḍa and emerald seems to have originated from the belief that the emerald was created when Garuḍa let fall the bile of Asura Bala on the earth.²⁹⁴ The location of emerald mines in the Sanskrit texts on jewels is rather vague. Buddhahatta in his *Ratna-parīkṣā*²⁹⁵ places the emerald mines in the country of Barbara on the confines of the desert, near the sea-shore. According to the *Agastimata*²⁹⁶ the mines are situated in the country of the Turuṣkas near the sea-shore; the *Agastī-ya Ratanaparīkṣā*²⁹⁷ distinguishes two mines, one in the country of the Turuṣkas and the other in Magadha. The information about the Turuṣka mines leads us to the 'Mountain of the Emeralds' of the Classical Geographers i.e. Gebel Zabarah which is situated on the Red Sea in the neighbourhood of the Nubian desert²⁹⁸. To quote the description of Al-Idrisī about these mines: "Not far from Aswan on the Central Nile is a mountain on whose foot is situated an emerald mine. It is situated in a desert far off from the human habitation. There is no emerald mine in the world which could compare this. A large number of people work this mine to their advantage and export the emeralds outside."²⁹⁹ In this connection it is interesting to note the city of Markatan situated at a distance of thirty days journey from Aswan, with a large population, where the merchants of Zalegh, a city situated on the Red Sea coast in Abyssinia, came to stay.³⁰⁰ It seems probable that the Sanskrit name *Marakata* for emerald is derived from this city, which must have carried on emerald export business in ancient times with India.

Another mine has been placed in the Magadha country; this seems to be true, as emerald mine in Hazāribāgh, Bihār, has been recorded.

²⁹⁵ Finot, *loc. cit.*, p. 34, s. 150.

²⁹⁶ *Ib.*, p. 124, s. 287.

²⁹⁷ *Ib.*, p. 188, ss. 76-77.

²⁹⁸ *Ib.*, p. XLIV.

²⁹⁹ P.A. Jaubert, *loc. cit.*, I, p. 36, Paris, 1836.

³⁰⁰ *Ib.*

From the above descriptions we have seen that the word *tārksya*, denotes a horse, a bird, a man and a jewel. But what could be the location of the people bearing the epithet of Tārksya—as there should be no doubt that they were a real people mentioned by the *Mahābhārata* and not animals or birds. The equation of *tārksya* with the emeralds takes us to the Red Sea, and the Magadha country, but there is little possibility that these places represent the home of the Tārksyas.

Now we know from Yuan Chwang³⁰² that to the north-west of Hu-shi-kan (Juskan of the Persians) between Balkh and Merv-al-Rud was situated the country of Ta-la-kan. The country was about five hundred *li* long and 60 *li* wide and its capital was ten *li* in circuit; on the west it joined Po-la-ssu (Persia). M. Saint-Martin thought that Ta-la-kan could be identified with Talekan of Gharzestan, a city situated at the distance of three short journeys above Merv-al-Rud in the direction of Herat. Watters in this connection observes that the name which St. Martin has transcribed may have been Talakan or Tarkan (Ib.). Al-Idrisī however pronounces the word as Tālqān which he calls a city of great importance equal to Merv-al-Rūd. It was situated at the foot of a mountain which was the part of the mountain chain al-Jurqān. Its felt making industry was renowned. It was situated on the route which went from Merv to Balkh.³⁰³ This region also yielded emeralds as observed by Ferrier.³⁰⁴ Pliny's³⁰⁵ best Bactrian emeralds probably came from the same area. We have already seen the close connection which the word *tārksya* had with horses, and in the Hazara district not far from Heart excellent horses are produced.³⁰⁶ Taking these con-

³⁰¹ Mallet, *Rec. Geol. Surv. Ind.*, VII, p. 43.

³⁰² Watters, Vol. I, p. 114.

³⁰³ Jaubert, *loc. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 468.

³⁰⁴ Ferrier, *loc. cit.*, pp. 51—53.

³⁰⁵ Pliny, XXXVII, 62—65, especially 65, 69, 71, 79.

³⁰⁶ Ferrier, *Ib.*, p. 192.

siderations into account the Tārksya country could be identified with the Ta-la-Kan of Yuan Chwang.

The modern representatives of the ancient *Tārksyas* seem to be Tarakki³⁰⁷—a tribe of Afghan Pavindas, largely nomad who winter about Kandhar or Tarakzais a clan of upper Bār Mohmand settled in the *dvab tappā* of Peshāwar (Ib.), but nothing definite could be said about this identification.

Vastrapā: M.B., II, 48, 14. The people are mentioned with the Pahlavas. No clue is given as regards their location. Their country, however, may be identified with the Vastrāpada of the *Mahābhārata* (III, 80, 108) in which the Pāṇḍavas after resting on the river Maladā in the Pañcanada country³⁰⁸ entered. Vastrāpada or Vastrāpatha as it is called in the *Prabhāsakhaṇḍa* and to which thirty chapters are devoted, is used as a second name for Gīrnār region in Junāgadh State in Kathiāwād.³⁰⁹ A curious legend is related in this connection. It is said that one day while Śiva and Pārvatī were seated on Mt. Kailāsa, Viṣṇu accompanied by other gods approached him and complained about his granting boons to the *daityas*. At this complaint Śiva decided to disappear altogether from the scene and was followed by Pārvatī and other gods. In the meanwhile Śiva having reached Vastrāpatha cast off his garments, divested himself of his bodily form and decided to live there. The gods and Pārvatī also arrived there and took their seats on different hills—Pārvatī taking her seat on Ujjayanta (Gīrnār). In the end Śiva was propitiated by her songs in his praise and agreed to return to Kailāsa.

Pahlava: (M.B., II, 48, 14.) They are linked with Vastrapās. If our identification of Vastrapās be correct then we should search for some ancient Iranian colony in the vicinity of Junagadh State. As observed by

³⁰⁷ Rose, *loc. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 455.

³⁰⁸ *Ib.*, III, 80, 105.

³⁰⁹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV, pp. 238—244.

Campbell the trade connection between Persian Gulf and the Western Indian sea-board must have led to the settlement from very early times of the Pahlvas³¹⁰ in Gujārāt and Kathiāwad. Curiously enough the Sudarsan lake in Junāgadh whose construction was ordered by Candragupta was completed by a Yavana Rājā Tusāspa on behalf of Aśoka.³¹¹ Tusāspa as his name indicates must have been an Iranian. The case of minister Sviśākha the son of Kulaipa, a Pahlava, who was the Governor of Ānarta and Surāṣṭra in the time of Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman (150 A.D.) and was personally responsible for stopping the beach in the Sudarśana Tank shows that the Pahlava community wielded considerable influence in Kāthiāwād. It is interesting to note further the connection of the officials of Iranian extraction with Kāthiāwād even in the Gupta age. Prof. Jarl Charpentier of the Upsala University³¹² has shown that Paṇḍadatta mentioned in the Gīrnār inscription (453-456 A.D.) was the Governor of Junāgadh in Skandagupta's time. The inscription glorifies the deeds of Paṇḍadatta and his son Cakrapālita³¹³ when once again the embankments of the Sudarśana lake gave way. Prof. Charpentier advances argument to prove that Paṇḍadatta was simply an Indianisation of the Iranian word Farnadāta. The name of Cakrapālita is restored to Chakharapāta. To prove the existence of ancient Iranian colony in India Mr. Hodiwala gives a novel explanation of Raghu's conquest of the Parsis (*Raghu-vamśa*, IV, 61 ff). According to him the conquest in question was of Ānarta and Saurāṣṭra where the Parsi colony in Western India³¹⁴ was situated.

Vasāti : (M.B., 48, 14.) They are linked with the Maul-eyas who perhaps lived in the Mūla valley in Jhalawan.

³¹⁰ Campbell, *Bombay Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 35.

³¹¹ *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, pp. 46-7.

³¹² *Ib.*,

³¹³ *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, 1930, pp. 282-83,

³¹⁴ Fleet, CII, pp. 56-65.

³¹⁵ *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Dec. 1930. pp. 282-83.

The Vasātis have been identified with the Ossadioi of Arrian (*Anab.* VI, 15,) who came to offer their submission while Alexander was encamped at the confluence of the Chenab and Jhelum. M. Saint-Martin places the Vasātis on the strength of Hemecandra's *Abhidhānacinatāmaṇi*, between the Jhelum and the Indus on the plateau of which the Salt Range forms the southern escarpment. To this identification McCrindle raises an objection that had they been situated between the Indus and Jhelum they could scarcely be supposed to have offered their submission to Alexander who had already passed the country³¹⁶ Cunningham's efforts to identify the Ossadioi with the Yaudheyas and Johiyas lacks conviction. As we have already said the Vasātis have been linked with the Mauleyas, and if our identification of the Mauleyas be correct then the country of the Vasātis may be either situated to the north of the Mūla Pass or in Sibi (Sivi) district in Baluchistan, and if they were situated to the south then the Vasātis could be located somewhere in Makran. The Sibi district is bounded on the north by Loralai district; on the south by the upper Sind Frontier District, on the east by the Dera Ghazi Khan and on the west by the Kacchi, the Bolan Pass and Quetta-Pishin.³¹⁷ Upto the end of the 15th century the district was always a dependency of Multan. It is also known to have been a part of the Ghaznavid empire.³¹⁸ This fact of Sibi being a dependency of Multan is of importance as it was near Multan that Alexander received the submission of Ossadioi and that too after the fall of the Kṣudraka-Mālavas (*Anab.* VI, 14-15). It could be said therefore that the Sibi country which was probably inhabited by the Vasātis submitted after the fall of their overlords. In this connection the inter-relation of the Vasātis, Mauleyas and the Kṣudraka-Mālavas mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*

³¹⁶ McCrindle, *loc. cit.*, p. 156, fn. 215 Cunningham, *Arriant Geography of India*, p. 280.

³¹⁷ *Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. XXII, p. 336.

³¹⁸ *Ib.*, p. 338.

(*Vasātayah samauleyāḥ saha Kṣudraka-Mālavaiḥ*, M.B., II, 48, 14) should also be borne in mind. But in the south of the Mula pass as well there are traces of the Vasātis. Judging the course which Alexander took in his march in Gedrosia Bunbury observes that he appears to have kept along a kind of valley or plain which is found to run nearly parallel to the coast between the interior range of Mushti (or Washati) hills and the lower rugged hills that bound the immediate neighbourhood of the sea-coast. This Washati hill may have something to do with the Vasātis, but it is not certain.³¹⁹ The modern representatives of the ancient Vasātis are probably the Sobtis, a sub-caste among the Khattris of Panjāb who trace their origin to Ghazni.

Mauleya: (M.B., II, 48, 14). The home of the Mauleya people could be located on Mūla river in Balūchistān, rising in the Harhoi hills and having a total length of 180 miles. As far as Kotra in Kacchi it passes with a rapid fall through the central Brahui range; in its lower reaches many flats lie along its course. The upper course is known as Soind; a little lower it is called Mushkbel and from Pāshtha Khan downwards it becomes Mūla. The Mūla drains the whole of the Jhalavan country and also the south-west of the Kacchi. The Mūla Pass route to the Jhalawan country lies along it.³²⁰ High among the mountains Kalāt also commands the approach to an important pass to the plain, i.e., the Mūla. Through this pass passed a commercial high road in olden days but which has long been superseded by the Quetta passes of Harnai and Bolan.³²¹

In the *Arthaśāstra* (p. 77) the gems found in the Mauleya mountains are termed Mauleyaka. Baluchistān and Kalāt State in modern times do not seem to produce any gem.

³¹⁹ Bunbury, *History of Ancient Geography*, pp. 519-20.

³²⁰ *Imp. Gaz.*, XVIII, pp. 19-20.

³²¹ Holdich, *The Gates of India*, p. 139. London, 1910.

Kṣudraka-Mālava: (M.B., III, 48, 14.) They are linked with the Vasātis and the Mauleyas. In Sanskrit texts the Kṣudraka-Mālavas are taken as a compound which confirms the Greek tradition. The *Mahābhāṣya* (IV, 2, 45) cites the *dvandva* Kṣudraka-Mālava, and the same text relates the opinion of the grammarian kātyāyana giving *Kṣudraka-Mālavi*, "the army of the Kṣudraka-Mālavas." It is also known that at certain times the Kṣudrakas were victorious without aid (*ekākibbiḥ Kṣudrakairjītam*, *Mahābhāṣya*, I, 1, 24; 21; V, 3, 52) which perhaps indicates that they fought without the aid of the Mālavas. They are also mentioned along with the Mālavas as an *āyudhajīvi-saṃgha* (Ib., V, 3, 114).

The most powerful republic which Alexander met in his retreat from the Panjab were the Kṣudraka-Mālavas spelt by the Greek as Oxydrakai and Malloi respectively. They were living on the Hydaspes after its confluence with Akesines and were considered to be the most warlike of all the India tribes (Arrian, *Anab.* VI, 4). The Malloi are called independent Indians (*Ib.*, VI, 6) and their cities were situated along the Chenab and the capital along the Rāvī. Arrian places the Oxydraki (*Indika*, C. IV) on the Hydaspes above its confluence with the Akesines. Bunbury is inclined to think that they lived on the east or left bank of the Satlaj (the State of Bahawalpur) and may have extended as far as the junction of the Satlaj with the Indus. The territory of the Malloi was of great extent comprehending a part of the *Doab* formed by the Akesines and Hydraotis and extending, according to Arrian (*Indika*, C. IV), to the confluence of the Akesines and the Indus. Their capital has been identified with Multan, and their territory with the district of Multan.³²²

M. Pryzluski has started a new theory about the Kṣudraka-Mālavas.³²³ According to him Kṣudraka means

³²² MCrindle, *loc. cit.*, pp. 350—52. Also see J.R.A.S., 1903, p. 685 for the views of V. Smith.

small and Mālava inseperable from Malla and Madra³²⁴ mean fighter and wrestler; the Mallas in the Kṣudraka-Mālava group were of Iranian origin and the Kṣudrakas were the aborigines and hence the epithet small in comparison with the great and powerful Iranians.³²⁵ We have already discussed the Iranian element in Madras previously. It is doubtful however to designate the Kṣudrakas as aborigines on a flimsy ground that the word in Sanskrit means small and therefore used in a derogatory sense.

Sauṇḍika : (M.B., II, 48, 15.) Sauṇḍika in Sanskrit means a dealer in wines (Hemacandra, *Abhidhānacin-tāmaṇi*, 90). Nothing is known about their location. Perhaps they may be connected with the Sondhis, a sub-caste among the Khattris of the Panjāb.

Aṅga and Vaṅga : (M.B., II, 48, 15.) The Aṅgas lived in the area which is now represented by Bhagalpur district in Bihār. The country of the Vaṅgas, however in ancient times did not include the whole of Bengal. In ancient records and epigraphs it is distinguished from Rāḍha which included Suhma and Gauḍa all making Western Bengal but also from Puṇḍra and Puṇḍra-Vardhana which included Varendra making up northern Bengal. Vaṅga thus in ancient times stood for what is known in modern times as Eastern Bengal, comprising the modern Dacca and Chittagong divisions.³²⁶

Puṇḍra : (M.B., II, 48, 15.) They are connected with the Tāmraliptas (MB., II, 48, 17). On the basis of various Pauranic allusions Pargiter identifies the Puṇḍra country as modern Chotā Nāgpur with the exception of southern portions (*Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p. 329), i.e., the modern district of Santal-parganas, Bīrbhum and the

³²³ *J.A.*, April—June, 1929, pp. 313-14.

³²⁴ *J.A.*, 1926, p. 6.

³²⁵ *J.A.*, 1929, April—June, pp. 313-14.

³²⁶ *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, p. 57.

northern portion of Hazārībagh. Mr. Sāstri³²⁷ identifies the Puṇḍra country with Māldah, portions of Purnea east of the Kosī, a part of Dinājpur and Rājshāhī.³²⁸

Śānavatya : (M.B., II, 48, 15.) They are coupled with the Gayas or the people of modern Gaya district. There should be no difficulty in identifying them with the modern Santāls. The Santal parganas in the southern Bhagalpur Division have an area of 5470 sq. miles. The area is bounded on the north by the district of Bhagalpur and Purnea, on the east by Malda, Murshidābād and Bīrbhum, on the south by Burdwan and Mānbhūm and on the west by Hazarībāgh, Monghyr and Bhagalpur.³²⁹

The Santals are a typical race of aboriginal stock and are akin to Bhūmiyās, Hos and Muṇḍās. Their original home is not known, but in comparatively remote period they were settled in Hazarībāgh plateau, and it is noticeable that the Damodar river by which its southern face is drained, is the territorial object most venerated by them. Within the last few centuries they have worked eastwards and are numerous in the eastern half of the Chotā Nāgpur plateau and in Midnāpur; and they are now emigrating to north Bengal and Assam.³³⁰ It seems that in the age of the Mahābhārata they lived in the area which is now known as Hazārībāgh district which is conterminous with the Gaya district.

Gayā : (M.B., II, 48, 15.) They may be located with the modern district of Gayā comprising two tracts—that to the north being a level plain dotted with the isolated hills and containing some long hill ranges, and the country to south undulating with the several hills forming the northern fringe of the Chotā Nāgpur plateau.

Kaliṅga : (M.B., II, 48, 17.) The proximity of the

³²⁷ Cunningham, *Ancient Geography*, notes, pp. 723—725.

³²⁸ *Ib.*, p. 724.

³²⁹ *Imp. Gaz.*, XXII, pp. 60-61.

³³⁰ *Ib.*, p. 67.

Kaliṅga country with the Vaitaraṇī river is emphasised in the *Mahābhārata* (ete *Kaliṅgāḥ Kaunteya yatra Vaitaraṇī nadī*, M.B., III, 114, 4). The river Vaitaraṇī was its northern boundary. Thus the ancient Kalinga comprised modern Orissa to the south of the Vaitaraṇī and the sea-coast southward as far as Vizagapatam. The plural use of *Kaliṅgapatyah* shows that there were many Kaliṅga chiefs.

Tāmralipta: M.B., II, 48, 17. The Tāmralipti from the very beginning has been a very important port on the Bay of Bengal. From this port the mission of Aśoka started for Ceylon (*Mahāvamsa*, XI, 38; XIX, 6). The Jaina *Prajñāpanā* mentions Tāmralipti with Vaṅga (*Ind. Studien*, XVI, 397). The *Daśakumāracarita* (p. 205, 1936 ed. Bombay) cites Dāmlipta (Tamralipti) as a city of Suhma. It commanded the entrance to the mouth of the Ganges. The modern town of Tāmluk is situated on the Rūpanārāyan not far from its junction with Hughli. It is the eastern sub-division of Midnāpur District.

The spelling of Tāmralipti was never constant. Hema-candra (*Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, V, 979) gives four forms Tāmalipta, Dāmalipta, Tāmalipti, and Tamālinī. The forms Tāmra and Tama occur in all manuscripts.³³¹ The Chinese transcribe it as To-mo-li-ti- (Fa-hien), and Tan-mo-li-ti (Yuan Chwang). Ptolemy (VII, 1, 76) gives Tamalitēs. The name Tāmralipti was also transported to Cambay. The *Pañcadaṇḍacchatraprabandha* (ed. by Weber, p. 3) mentions Tāmralipti in Cambay. An island named Tāmra also appears in the expedition of Sahadeva in Western India (M.B., II, 28, 46). The efforts to derive its name from Sanskrit, however, has been useless as the initials *kaṁ* and *taṁ* in both the words are of Muṇḍa-khmer origin.³³²

³³¹ Levi, J.A., 1925, II, p. 49.

³³² J.A., 1923, pp. 50-51.

Presents made by the Vaṅgas, Kalingas, Tāmraliptas and Puṇḍrakas: M.B., II, 48, 17-20.

Dukūla (B.B. II, 48, 17). A kind of very fine cloth made from the fibres obtained from the inner bark of the *dukūla* plant. The *dukūla* cloth is also mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra* (pp. 113-14). Perhaps it was byssos of the Roman writers.³³³

Kauśika: (M.B., II, 48, 17). It seems that Bengal had already become famous for its silk. In the Kashmir version of the *Rāmāyana Kiṣkindhā Kāṇḍa* the country of the Kośakāras is mentioned.³³⁴ The commentator Rāma glosses it as the country of the 'cocoon-makers', i.e., the country where the cocoon were available in great abundance. The city of the Kośakāras is mentioned in the Bengali version just after the river Lauhitya and its situation may thus be either in Bengal or Assam.

Patrorṇa: (M.B., II, 48, 17.) *Calosanthos Indica*. In the dictionary its meaning is given as wove-silk or silk garment, or perhaps also cotton.³³⁵ The finest muslin in the *Periplus* is mentioned as the Gangetic and was manufactured perhaps in Dacca district.³³⁶ The Nāgas of Kalinga country were so famous in the art of weaving that the word Kalinga in Tāmīl came to signify cloth.³³⁷

Prāvāra: (M.B., II, 48, 17). *Prāvāra* or *Prāvāra* has been described as an outer garment or cloak.³³⁸ In the *Amarakośa* (II, 6, 117) *prāvāra* is *uttarāsaṅga*, i.e., *dupaṭṭā*, or *cādar*. It was also used in the sense of mantle in Buddhist literature (*Kauseyapṛāvāra*, *Mahāvagga*, VIII, 1, 36). It seems that some cloth-merchants

³³³ Warmington, *loc. cit.*, p. 212.

³³⁴ Lévi, J.A., 1918, Jan.-Feb., pp. 73-74.

³³⁵ Monier Williams, *Sanskrit English Dictionary*.

³³⁶ Schoff, *Periplus of the Erythrean sea*, p. 46.

³³⁷ Kanakasabhai, *The Tamils eighteen hundred years ago*, p. 45.

³³⁸ Monier William, *Sanskrit English Dictionary*.

specialised in dealing exclusively in the *dupaṭṭas* and *cādars*. Thus in the Ins. No. 131 at Sānchī³³⁹ a *cādar* seller (*pāvārika*) is mentioned. The existence of this class of merchants should not be doubted as there were hundreds of varieties in the *cādars* which only a specialist could stock. In the *Mānasollāsa* of Someśvara (1127—1138 A.D.) (*Mānasollāsa*, Vol. II, p. 89, s. 33, Baroda, 1939) it is mentioned that the hankerers after fashion loved to show off the *prāvāras* of various measurements (*prāvārā vividhākārā darśitā vastra-dhāribhiḥ*); they were made of various coloured materials and silk (*vicitra-varṇavastrāṇi-paṭṭasūtramayāni ca*).

Elephants: (M.B., II, 48, 19-20.) There are several points to be considered. Firstly the elephants came from Kāmyakasara (*abhitah Kāmyakah Saraṁ*) (M.B., II, 48, 19). This may suggest at once the Kamarūpa country or Assam, but there is no reference in the *Mahābhārata* which even suggests that Kāmarūpa had come into being as Assam is usually known as Prāgjyotiṣa. In the *Arthaśāstra* (p. 49) the elephants bred in Kāliṅga, Aṅga, Kāruṣa and Eastern India are mentioned to be the best; those of Daśārṇa and middle country are of middle quality and of Saurāṣṭra and Pañcajana country of low quality. In this list the elephants of the east may mean Assam elephants. In the *Mahābhārata* however we know of a Kāmyaka forest (M.B., III, 84, 16). Lomaśa gives warning to Yudhiṣṭhira (M.B., III, 90) of the dangers lurking in the unknown places and finally accompanies him on his pilgrimage. He first goes to Nāgapura (M.B., III, 90, 22) and lives for three days in the Kāmyaka forest (Ib., 90, 24). Here they were joined by a further party of the Brāhmins who describe the wild nature of the country infested with wild beasts and covered with impenetrable jungle (Ib., III, 91, 4). No further information about the *tīrthas* in this region is given, and abruptly we find the Pāṇḍavas returning to Naimiṣāranya (Ib., III, 93, 1).

³³⁹ *Sānchī*, Vol. I, p. 313.

Nāgapura in this description could be identified with the Chotā Nāgpur area, and the Kāmyaka forest on the fringes of that area. The so called Chotā Nāgpur plateau extends beyond the limits of the division into the tributary states of Chotā Nāgpur and Orissa on the south-west and south and through the Santāl Parganas to the Ganges on the north-east, while its outlying fringes stretch out into the south of the Patnā and Bhāgalpur divisions on the east. There are three plateaus in the stricter application of the term, one in Rānchi and two in Hazāribāgh. Elsewhere this is often very broken and numerous ranges or groups of steep hills are intersected by deep ravines and occasionally by valleys.³⁴⁰ The division is the home of the non-Aryan tribes who were never properly subjugated by the early Aryan invaders. It may be seen from the above description, how truly the Mahābhārata has described the nature of the country where Kāmyaka forest was situated. There is however one hitch, the elephants came from the Kāmyaka Lake, and there is no lake in Chota Nāgpur proper. But looking towards the extended area of Chotā Nāgpur beyond its modern administrative division in the Orissa tributary states on the south west and south, one could indentify the Kāmyakasara with the Chilka Lake, a shallow inland gulf situated in the south east corner of Puri district, Orissa and in the extreme south extending into Ganjam district.³⁴¹ This identification should also support the superiority of Kalinga elephants as mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra*.

The elephants for presentation had powerful tusks (*śāḍantān*), begirt with golden girdles (*hemakakṣān*), and fitted with lotus coloured elephant-cloths (*padmavarṇa-kuthāvr̥tān*) (M.B., II, 48, 19); they were mountain high (*śailābhāḥ*) and always in ruts (*nitya mattamśca*). Further

³⁴⁰ *Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. X, pp. 328-29.

³⁴¹ *Ib.*, Vol. X, p. 224.

³⁴² Cunningham, *Ancient Geography*, p. 753.

these elephants were fitted with armours (*karacāvṛtān*) and were of even temper (*kṣamāvataḥ*) and of good breed (*kūlīnāmśca*) (Ib., II, 48, 20).

Gandharva : (M.B., II, 48, 22-23.) The Gandharva country has been identified by Mr. S. M. Sastri on³⁴² the basis of reference from the *Ramāyaṇa Uttarakāṇḍa* (CXIII, 10-11) with the Gandhāra country. The Gandharva country in the *Ramāyaṇa* is said to be situated on both banks of the Indus. Bharata installed his son Takṣa at Takṣaśilā and his other son Puṣkala at Puṣkalāvātī (*Uttarakāṇḍa*, CXIV, 11). The Gandharva Kings Citraratha and Tumburu made presents of horses for which the Gandharva country was famous, to Yudhiṣṭhira.

Śūkara : (M.B., II, 48, 24). The name is very rare in Sanskrit literature and no references are available to indicate the direction in which the Śūkaras lived. In the Chinese version of the *Candraḡarbhāsūtra* (Section LV of *Mahāsamnipāta*) among the ten kingdoms under Svātī *nakṣatra* there is one named as Chou-kia-lo whose original Sanskrit form Śūkara has been restored by M. Lévi.³⁴³

The word in Sanskrit means 'one who makes a snort ing sound,' and hence the pig. It may be surmised therefore that the Śūkaras were some non-Aryan tribe whose speech was not understandable by the Indo-Aryan speaking world. They may be identified with the Śabarās known as Saur, Sar, Sayar, Suir, and Suiri. It may be noticed that the Prākṛit forms Saur etc., are traceable from Śūkara. The Sabarās mainly live in Orissa, Chotā Nāgpur and western Bengal, Madras and Central Provinces.³⁴⁴ They speak a language of Muṇḍarian group. They perhaps represent the main body of an ancient race, an isolated fragment of which survives in the Rājmahal Hills.³⁴⁵ The Sabarās are usually identified with the

³⁴³ S. Lévi, *Notes Chinoises sur l'Inde*, BEFEO, V, p. 270.

³⁴⁴ Risley, *The Castes and Tribes of Bengal*, Vol. II, p. 241, Calcutta, 1891.

³⁴⁵ *Ib.*, p. 242.

Sabarai of Ptolemy (VII, 1, 81). A number of ancient monuments in Shahabad District in Bihar are ascribed to Sabars or Suirs.

Pāmsū or Pamsu Rāṣṭra : (M.B., II, 48, 26.) Vikṣarādyā one of the sons of Anāyus (M.B. I, 61, 39) became the king of Pāmsūraṣṭra. The Pāmsus were invited to join the Pāṇḍava side in the Great War (M.B., V, 4, 17) and are mentioned just before the Auḍras (*Ib.*, 4, 18). This unity of Auḍras and Pāmsus is also supported by the Oṛh-Pān, one of the five subcastes of the Pāns who were probably sprung from Oriya fathers and Pān mothers.³⁴⁶ The connection with the Oriya people locates them somewhere in Orissa or Chotā Nāgpur. There is every possibility that they were the ancestors of modern Pān tribe, also known as Pānva, Pānr, Pānika etc.,—a low weaving, basket-making servile caste scattered under various names throughout the north of Orissa and the southern and western part of Chotā Nāgpur. According to Dalton whose opinion about the origin of the Pāns is somewhat confused these people are Aryans,³⁴⁷ and probably the remnants of the Aryan colonies subjugated by the Hos,³⁴⁸ at another place they are said to be undistinguishable from the Ho community.³⁴⁹ Risley however does not agree with the Aryan origin of the Pāns³⁵⁰ as according to him they claim their descent from the serpents and their caste has a very numerous set of totems.

Simhala : (M.B., II, 48, 30, 31.) Simhala or Ceylon is well known. The presentation which the Sinhalese people made, however, to Yudhiṣṭhira are of interest. They are described below :

Samudrasāra : (M.B., II, 48, 30.) In the dictionary it has been described 'quintessence of the sea' or pearls.³⁵¹

³⁴⁶ Risley, *loc. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 157.

³⁴⁷ Dalton, *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 325.

³⁴⁸ *Ib.*, 185.

³⁴⁹ *Ib.*, pp. 196, 325.

³⁵⁰ Risley, *loc. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 156.

³⁵¹ Monier Williams, *loc. cit.*, p. 1167, Col. 1.

It could not be pearl as the pearls are mentioned separately in the lists of the gifts—perhaps the *samudrasāra* is the same as *samudraphena*, the cuttle-fish bone, but this is not certain.

Vaiḍūrya: (M.B., II, 48, 30). Originally the *Vaiḍūrya* was generally identified with the beryl, but the researches of R. Garbe (*Die Indischen Mineralien*, p. 85, n. 2) and S.M. Tagore (*Maṇimālā*, p. 252, s qq) have proved that the *vaiḍūrya* was the cat's-eye—the principal argument supporting this view is that in the description of the *vaiḍūrya* in the Sanskrit literature on jewellery it has often the resemblance of cat's-eye. In India the mountain Vidūra from which *Vaiḍūrya* was found has been mentioned by Buddha Bhaṭṭa³⁵² as situated on the frontier of two countries—the first is Koṅga corresponding to the modern district of Salem and Coimbtore with some parts of Tinnevely and Travancore.³⁵³ The correct text of Valīka which follows Koṅga in Buddha Bhaṭṭa is Colaka who inhabited the Coromandal coast and therefore the Vidūra mountains should be searched in the south of the Eastern Ghats. The massif of Shivarai corresponds perfectly to these conditions, and it is known that the District of Salem is very rich in mineral resources particularly quartz and corundum of different species.³⁵⁴ Ceylon and Ratanpur also produced quartz and cat's eye.³⁵⁵ The Romans also knew of the corundum cat's-eye which occurs in Ceylon.³⁵⁶ Perhaps both the qualities of the cat's-eye are referred to under *vaiḍūrya* from Ceylon.

Pearls: The chief locality for pearl fishery was the Gulf of Manaar with the result that Ceylon is always mentioned as a source of pearl in Buddhist and Sanskrit literature. In the *Arthaśāstra* (pp. 75-76) the Ceylon or

³⁵² Finot, *loc. cit.*, p. 43, s. 199.

³⁵³ Wilson, *Mackenzie Collection*, 2nd ed., p. 209.

³⁵⁴ Finot, *loc. cit.*, pp. XLVI—VII.

³⁵⁵ Watts, *Dict. of Ec. Pro.* S. V. Carnelian.

³⁵⁶ Warmington, *loc. cit.*, p. 249.

kauleya pearls are enumerated along the pearls from Pāṇḍya kingdom and other places. Varāhamihira (LXXXI, 2) includes Simhala as one of the eight places where there were pearl fisheries. The Agastimata³⁵⁷ also includes Simhala as a premier place for pearl fishery—the others being Ārvāṭī, Barbara and Pārasika.

Śaṃkha: (M.B., II, 48, 30.) As late as the 6th century conch-shells were being exported from India and Ceylon to Italy. The sacred chank (a gastropod, *Turbenella rapa*) of the Gulf of Manaar still provides vessels, musical instruments etc. We learn of old chank-cutters working in Korkai and Kāverīpaṭṭinam.³⁵⁸

Kutha: (M.B., II, 48, 30.) A printed or variegated cloth serving as an elephant's housing. It seems that Ceylon specialised in such sort of cloth.

All the gifts mentioned above were brought by the Simhalese men with the corners of their eyes somewhat red (*Śyāmāstāmrāntalocanāḥ*), clothed in fine garments and jewels (M.B. II, 48, 31).

³⁵⁷ Finot, *loc. cit.*, pp. 95-96, ss. 109—111.

³⁵⁸ Warmington, *loc. cit.*, p. 174.

APPENDIX I

SANSKRIT TEXT

Sabhāparva. 45-24.

ब्राह्मणा वाटधानाश्च गोमन्तः शतसंघशः ।
त्रैखर्वं बलिमादाय द्वारि तिष्ठन्ति वारिताः ॥

Sabhāparva. 46-21.

आवर्जिता इवाभान्ति निघ्नाश्चैत्रिकिकौराः ।
कारस्करा लोहजङ्घा युधिष्ठिरनिवेशने ॥

Sabhāparva. 45, 19-20.

कदलीमृगमोकानि कृष्णश्यामारुणानि च
काम्बोजः प्राहिणोत्तस्मै परार्ध्यानपि कम्बलान् ॥१॥
रथयोषिद्गवाश्वस्य शतशोऽथ सहस्रशः
त्रिशतं चोष्ट्रवामीनां शतानि विचरन्त्युत ॥२०॥

Sabhāparva. 47.

यन्मया पाण्डवानां तु दृष्टं तच्छृणु भारत
आहृतं भूमिपालैर्ह वसु मुख्यं ततस्ततः ॥१॥
न विन्दे दृढमात्मानं दृष्ट्वाहं तदरेर्धनम्
फलतो भूमितो वापि प्रतिपद्यस्व भारत ॥२॥
ऐडांश्चैलान्³⁵⁹ वार्षदंशाञ्जातरूपपरिष्कृतान्
प्रावाराजिनमुख्यांश्च काम्बोजः प्रददौ वसु ॥३॥
अश्वांस्तित्तिरकल्माषांस्त्रिशतं शुकनासिकान्
उष्ट्रवामीस्त्रिशतं च पुष्टाः पीलुशमीङ्गुदैः ॥४॥
गोवासना ब्राह्मणाश्च दासमीयाश्च सर्वशः
प्रीत्यर्थं ते महाभाग धर्मराज्ञो महात्मनः
त्रैखर्वं बलिमादाय द्वारि तिष्ठन्ति वारिताः ॥५॥
कमण्डलून्पादाय जातरूपमयाञ्शुभान्
एवं बलिं प्रदायाथ प्रवेशं लेभिरे ततः ॥६॥
शतं दासी सहस्राणां त्रार्पासिकनिवासिनाम्

³⁵⁹ Variants : K₁ पडान्, पलान् K. 2.3; Ś₁, N₁ V₁ B₁.2 Dn. Dn
206 cd. n. बैलान्

श्यामास्तन्यो दीर्घकेश्यो हेमाभरणभूषिताः
 गूढा विप्रोत्तमार्हाणि राङ्कवान्यजिनानि च ॥७॥
 बलिं च कृत्स्नमादाय भरुकच्छनिवासिनः
 उपनिन्युर्महाराज ह्यभान्धारदेशजान् ॥८॥
 इन्द्रकृष्टैर्वर्तयन्ति धान्यैर्नदीमुखैश्च ये
 समुद्रनिष्कुटे जाताः परिसिन्धु च मानवाः ॥९॥
 ते वैरामाः पारदाश्च वज्राश्च³⁶⁰ कितवैः सह
 विविधं बलिमादाय रत्नानि विविधानि च ॥१०॥
 अजाविकं गोहिरण्यं खरोष्ट्रं फलजं मधु
 कम्बलान्विविधांश्चैव द्वारि तिष्ठन्ति वारिताः ॥११॥
 प्राग्ज्योतिषाधिपः क्षूरो म्लेच्छानामधिपोबली
 यवनैः सहितो राजा भगदत्तो महारथः ॥१२॥
 आजानेयान्ह्याञ्शीघ्रानादायानिलरंहसः
 बलिं च कृत्स्नमादाय द्वारे तिष्ठन्ति वारितः ॥१३॥
 अश्मसारमयं भाण्डं शुद्रदन्तस्फुनसीन्
 प्राग्ज्योतिषोऽथ तद्वत्त्वा भगदत्तोऽज रत्नदा ॥१४॥
 द्वयक्षास्त्र्यक्षांललाटाभ्राभ्रानादिग्धः समागतान्
 औष्णीषाननिवासांश्च बाहुकान्³⁶¹ पुरुषादकान् ॥१५॥
 एकपादांश्च तत्राहमपश्यं द्वारि वारितान्
 ब्रह्मार्थं ददतुस्तस्मै हिरण्यं रजनं वटु ॥१६॥
 इन्द्रगोपकवर्णभाञ्जुकवर्णनिमनोजवान्
 तथैवेन्द्रायुधनिभान्सन्ध्याभ्रसदृशानपि ॥१७॥
 अनेकवर्णानारण्यान्गृहीत्वाश्वात्सुमनोजवान्
 जातरूपमनर्घ्यं च ददुस्तस्यैकपादकाः ॥१८॥
 चीनान्गुणाञ्चकानोद्गान्पार्वतान्तरवासिनः
 वाष्पेयान्हारहृणांश्च³⁶² कृष्णान्हैमवतांस्तथा ॥१९॥
 न पारयाम्यभिगतान्विविधान्द्वारि वारितान्
 ब्रह्मार्थं ददतस्तस्य नानारूपाननेकशः ॥२०॥
 कृष्णग्रीवान्भृहाकायान्रासभाञ्जतपातिनः
 आहर्षुर्दंदासाहसान्विनीतान्दिक्षुविश्रुतान् ॥२१॥
 प्रमाणरागस्पशब्दं बाल्लीचीतसमुद्भवम्
 और्णं च राङ्कवं चैव कीटजं पट्टजं तथा ॥२२॥
 कट्टीकृतं³⁶³ तथैवान्यत्कमलामं सहस्रशः
 इल्लक्षं वस्त्रमकार्षीसमाविकं मृदु चाजिनम् ॥२३॥

³⁶⁰ D⁶ आभीराः B 1.4-5 D₁. 5 तुक्ताश्च

³⁶¹ N₁ B₄ DN (!) D⁶ रोमकान्

³⁶² S₁ हारनाश्च; K₁ हार (m⁰रि) हूरांश्च.

³⁶³ कुटीकृतं

निशितांश्चैव दीर्घासीनृष्टिशक्तिपरश्वधान्
 अपरान्तसमुद्भूतांस्तथैव परशुश्चिन्ताम् ॥२४॥
 रसान्धांश्च विविधान् रत्नानि च सहस्रशः
 बलि च कृत्स्नमादाय द्वारि तिष्ठन्ति वारिताः ॥२५॥
 शकास्तुखाराः³⁶⁴ कङ्काश्च³⁶⁵ रोमशाः शृङ्गिणो नराः
 महागमान् दूरगमान् गणितान् बृहद् हयान् ॥२६॥
 कोटिशश्चैव बहुशः सुवर्णं पद्मसंमितम्
 बलिमादाय विविधं द्वारि तिष्ठन्ति वारिताः ॥२७॥
 आसनानि महार्हाणि यानानि शयनानि च
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 रथांश्च विविधाकाराञ्जातरूपपरिष्कृतान्
 हयैर्विनीतः संपन्नान्व्रैयाघ्रपरिवारणान् ॥२९॥
 विचित्रांश्च परिस्तोमान् रत्नानि च सहस्रशः
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 एतद्वत्त्वा महद्द्रव्यं पूर्वदेशाधिपो नृप.
 प्रविष्टो यज्ञसदनं पाण्डवस्य महात्मनः ॥३१॥

Chapter 48.

दायं तु तस्मै विविधं शृणु मे गदतोऽनघ
 यज्ञार्थं राजभिर्दत्तं महान्तं धनसञ्चयम् ॥१॥
 मेरुमन्दरयोर्मध्ये शैलोदामभितो नदीम्
 ये ते कीचकवेणूनां छायां रम्यामुपासते ॥२॥
 खशा³⁶⁶ एकाशना ज्योहाः प्रदरा दीर्घवेणवः
 पशुपाश्च कुणिन्दाश्च तङ्गणाः परतङ्गणाः ॥३॥
 ते वै पिपीलिकं नाम वरदत्तं³⁶⁷ पिपीलिकैः
 जातरूपं द्रोणमेयमहर्षुः पुञ्जशो नृपाः ॥४॥
 कृष्णाल्ललामांश्च मराञ्च कुलांश्चान्याञ्च शिशुभान्
 हिमवत्पुष्पजं चैव स्वादु क्षौद्रं तथा बहु³⁶⁸ ॥५॥
 उत्तरेभ्यः कुरुभ्यश्चाप्यपोढं माल्यमंबुभिः
 उत्तरादपिकैलासादोषधीः सुमहाबलाः ॥६॥
 पार्वतीया बलिं चान्यमाहृत्य प्रणताः स्थिताः
 अजातशत्रो नृपतेर्द्वारि तिष्ठन्ति वारिताः ॥७॥

³⁶⁴ तुखाराः; S₁ तुखायाः; N₁ तुकाराः;

³⁶⁵ J₁ G₁. 3-6 M कौरव्य (G₄ कौमारा) for कङ्काश्च

³⁶⁶ N₁ V₁ B 2-6 D खशा [B₅, 5.6 Dn 2, D 3-5, खशा]. (2) प (B₁ य)
 कास (B 3-5-6 m D 2-5 ⁰य) ना खशा [D 3-5 हयोहाः; D⁶ ज्योहाः (3) पारदा
 K Dn D₆ for पशुपा. (4) N₁ V₁ BD except D₆ कुलिदाश्च.

³⁶⁷ Dn (!) D₆ उद्धृतं यत्.

³⁶⁸ J₁, G 3-6 मधु

ये परार्थे हिमवतः सूर्योदयगिरौ नृपाः
 वारिषेणसमुद्रान्ते³⁶⁹ लोहित्यमभितश्च ये
 फलमूलाशना ये च किराताश्चर्मवाससः ॥८॥
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 निचितं पर्वतेभ्यश्च हिरण्यं भूरिवर्चसम्
 वलिं च कृत्स्नमादाय द्वारि तिष्ठन्ति वारिताः ॥११॥
 कायव्या³⁷⁰ दरदा दार्वाः शूरा वैन्यमकास्तथा
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 वसातयः समौलेयाः सहक्षुद्रकमालवैः ॥१४॥
 शौण्डिकाः³⁷⁴ कुक्कुराश्चैव शकाश्चैव विशांपते
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 शतानि चत्वार्यददद्वयानां वातरंहसां ॥२२॥

³⁶⁹ N₁ V₁ B 2-6 Dn D 3-5 कारुषे (Dn 2 D3. रु)

³⁷⁰ K 1-3 कांबोजा; K₄ N₁ V₁ BD 1-5 कन्यादा Dn (!) कैराताः; M₂ कावल्या

³⁷¹ B 1-4 औडुं (B 2 ङ) बरा; D₁ कुर्दबरा

³⁷² K⁴ Dn (!) D⁶ चकुमाराश्च

³⁷³ K⁴ N₁, V₁ Dn, D⁶ पौरका instead of पौरका

³⁷⁴ K₂ सौडिकाः; K⁴ Dn (!) D⁶ पौडिकाः

तुंबुरुस्तु प्रमुदितो गंधर्वो वाजिनां शतं
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 कृती च राजा कौरव्य शूकराणां विशांपते
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 पांशुराष्ट्राद्वसुदानो राजा षड्विंशतिं गजान्
 अश्वानां च सहस्रे द्वे राजन्काञ्चनमालिनाम् ॥२५॥
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APPENDIX II

Taṅgaṇas. In the *Pūrvabhāga* of the *Āvaśyakacūṛṇi* (Ratlam, 1928) a very interesting account of the method of transacting business by the Taṅgaṇas is given. I quote the text with its translation :

उत्तरावहे टंकणा नाम म्लेच्छा । ते सुवन्नदंतयादीहि
दक्खिना वहगाइं भण्डाइं गेण्हंति । ते य अवरोघरं
भासं न जाणंति, पच्छा पुञ्जे करेति हत्येण
अच्छादंति, जाव इच्छा ण पूरेति ताव न अवर्णेति । (p. 120).

“In the northern regions live the mleccha Taṅkaṇas. They with gold, ivory and other commodities, exchange the commodities of Dakṣiṇāpatha. As they do not understand the language of each other they arrange their goods in a heap and cover it with their hand which they do not remove till their demand is fulfilled”.

In the same description of the trade method of the Taṅkaṇas quoted by Haribhadra in his *Āvaśyaka Tīkā* (I, pp. 99 & 100a, Bombay, 1916) the Taṅkaṇas are said to have bought the commodities of the southern regions with gold only. There is no mention of ivory.

It is remarkable that even in present day the people from Kashgar side who are known as Taṅgaṇas bring gold-dust and semi-precious stones including jade to the markets of Srinagar in Kashmir. They do not visit however the Deccan as in the former days.

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